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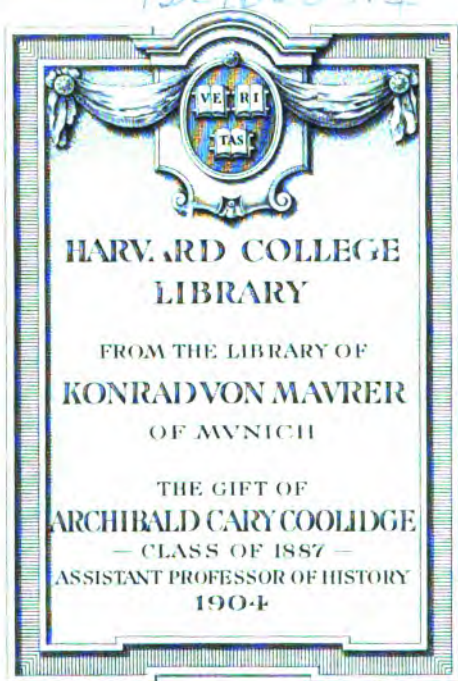
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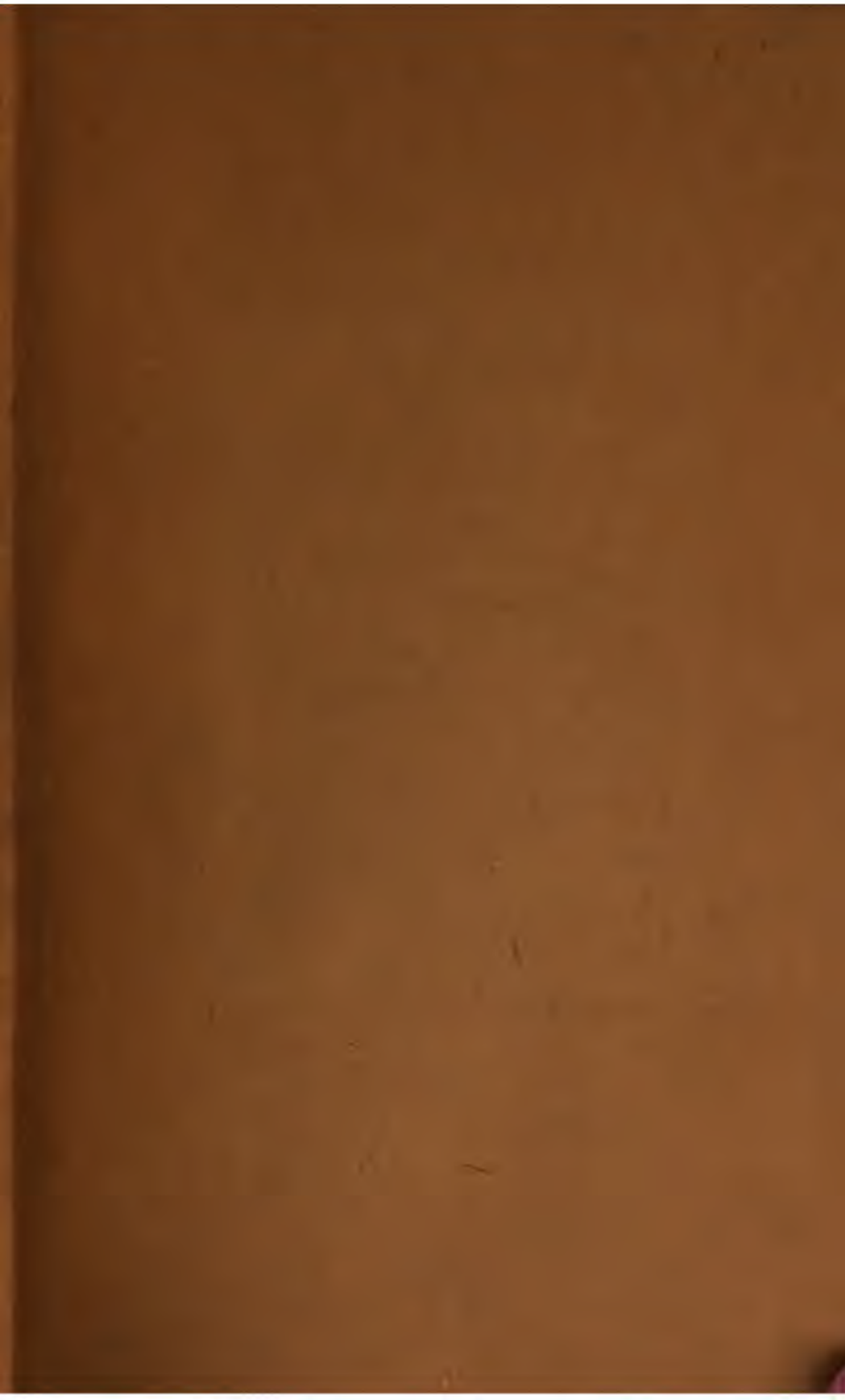
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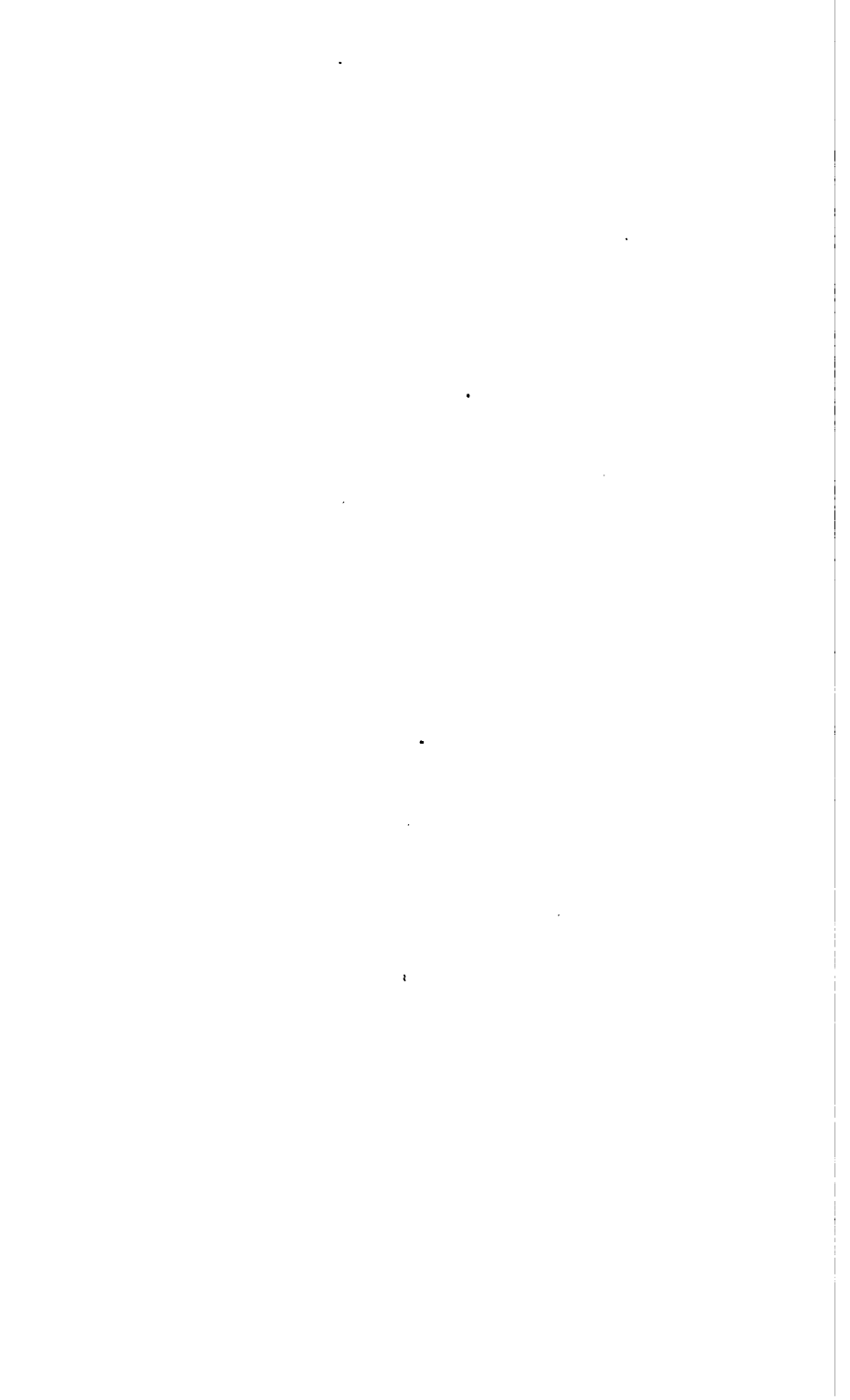
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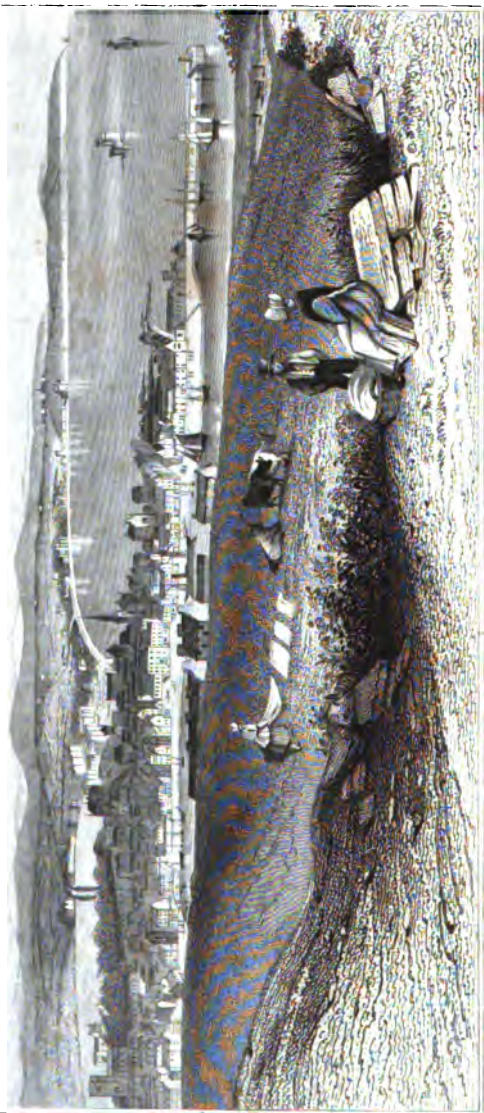






DOUGLAS ISLE OF MAN.

W. H. L. & Co.



AN
HISTORICAL AND STATISTICAL
ACCOUNT
OF THE
ISLE OF MAN,
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DATE;
WITH A VIEW OF ITS
ANCIENT LAWS, PECULIAR CUSTOMS, AND
POPULAR SUPERSTITIONS.

BY JOSEPH TRAIN, F.S.A. Scot.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

DOUGLAS, ISLE OF MAN:

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BIOGRAPHICAL

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR.¹

THE Author of the present History, though a poet of no inconsiderable merit, is best known to the world by his correspondence with Sir Walter Scott, who greatly valued the assistance derived from his assiduous researches. In the works of Sir Walter, honourable mention is frequently made of Mr. Train, in reference to the many literary and antiquarian favours received from him; and Mr. Lockhart, in his *Life of Scott*, fails not to acknowledge the services rendered in terms due to their importance. In the *Statistical Account of Galloway*, recently published, many important antiquarian communications from the pen of Mr. Train, are kindly acknowledged, either by the ministers of the respective parishes by whom they were received, or by John Gordon, Esq., the talented secretary of the University of Edinburgh, and editor of the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*. Mr. Train also contributed largely to the *History of Galloway*, a work in two volumes, by the Reverend William M'Kenzie; but it remains for the biographer of Mr. Train to elevate him still more prominently in the eye of the public, as one whose unostentatious labours have been chiefly expended in promoting the undertakings of others.

Mr. Train's ancestors were, for several ages, land stewards consecutively on the estate of Gilmilnscroft, in the parish of Sorn, in Ayrshire, where he was born 6th November, 1779. Eight years afterwards, he removed with his parents to the county town, where, after completing his limited attendance at school, he was apprenticed to a mechanical occupation, by no means congenial to the feelings of a youth of his lively imagination, or accordant with that taste for literature which he had acquired at an early age. Every hour he could spare from toil was sedulously devoted to mental improvement; and before he had attained the years of manhood, he possessed a degree of information vastly superior to his position in society.

¹ Collated and revised by William Train, chiefly from *The Contemporaries of Burns and the more Recent Poets of Ayrshire, with Selections from their Works*.—Edinburgh, 1840, 1 vol. octavo. By permission of Mr. Hugh Paton, the proprietor and publisher of that highly interesting work.

In 1799, Joseph Train was ballotted for the Ayrshire militia, then about to be embodied in Ayr: and the stipulated time of service being either three years or during the war, he served till, in consequence of the peace of Amiens, the regiment was disbanded in the spring of 1802, unknown and unnoticed beyond the credit which his orderly conduct secured for him. He, however, still found leisure to indulge in his favourite studies, and to pay occasional court to the Muse. While stationed at Inverness, he had seen the announcement of Currie's edition of the *Works of Burns*—originally printed at Liverpool in 1800—and ambitious to possess a copy, he became a subscriber, resolving to save every sixpence he could spare for the purchase. The volumes having been duly forwarded to the bookseller, the colonel of the regiment, Sir David Hunter Blair, happening to enter the shop one day, took up the work, and, expressing a wish to have it, was astonished when informed that the copy, price £1 11s. 6d., was for one of his own men. Sir David inquired the name of the individual, and, on being informed, felt so much pleased, that he gave orders to have it bound in the best style, and delivered to Train free of expense.

Not satisfied with this mark of approbation, Sir David continued his kindness, convinced that the object of his attention was in every way worthy of it. He patronised the publication of a small volume of poems by Mr. Train, which appeared at Ayr in 1806, entitled *Poetical Reveries*, and which was favourably received by the public. In 1808 Sir David obtained for him an appointment in the Excise, and through the kindness of Mr. Gillies, his first supervisor, he was employed in Ayr district till 1810, when he was removed to Abersfeldy to assist in the suppression of illicit distillation, at that time carried on openly to a great extent in Breadalbane. The situation of the revenue officers employed for its suppression was very hazardous. Mr. Train narrowly escaped with his life from a party of smugglers, when wandering alone on the hills; but in March, 1811, he was appointed to Largs Ride, in Ayrshire.

Largs is a district of more than ordinary interest to the Scottish historian: and, rich in picturesque scenery, is highly calculated to inspire the pen of the poet. Mr. Train, in his boyish years, had become well acquainted with the middle portions of the county of Ayr, and his residence at Largs gave him a knowledge of the northern sections of it, which he had not formerly acquired. In 1813, he was transferred to Newton Stewart; and, as his survey extended over the greater part, not only of Upper and Lower Galloway, but also of a considerable part of Carrick, he found himself located in a circuit hitherto unexplored, and new to him in many particulars. "Few parts, even in the North Highlands of Scotland," he remarks in his MS. personal memoranda, "present a greater variety of savage scenery than that of the borders of Galloway and Ayrshire; and, with the

exception of the store-farmers, who are generally shrewd and intelligent, the people's simplicity corresponds entirely with the wildness of the country." In this pristine district, Mr. Train gathered many interesting traditions, illustrative of bygone days—of rites and superstitions at one period general over the country, but which, in later times, existed only where intercourse was limited and knowledge had been correspondingly slow in its progress. What use he designed to make of his gleanings appeared in 1814, by the publication of his *Strains of the Mountain Muse*, consisting chiefly of metrical tales, illustrative of traditions in Galloway and Ayrshire, accompanied by interesting notes. This little volume was destined to give a permanent direction to the future researches of the author.

The poems were printed at Edinburgh; and while in the press, Sir Walter Scott, having seen the announcement, and obtained a glance at the sheets from the publisher,¹ immediately wrote to the author, whose address he also procured, requesting him to add his name to the subscription list for several copies. Flattered by this compliment, Mr. Train made all haste to forward a copy to the distinguished poet, accompanied by a letter, thanking him for his kindness. To this Sir Walter replied as follows:—

To Mr. Joseph Train, Newton Stewart, Galloway.

"SIR,—I received your volume with the inclosure, just as I am setting out on a pleasure voyage. I intend to make your book a companion of my tour, and I shall feel it a pleasant one, if the other poems, as I doubt not, bear a proportion of merit corresponding to *Elcine de Aggart*, in which I find only one faulty line. It is

'Or any whom they may refractory find.'

I wish you would revise something like this, as it would complete the picture of subjugation—

'They bring with them yokes for the neck of the hind.'

I don't mean that as a good line, but it may suggest one having a special and direct idea, instead of a vague and general one, as it stands at present.

"I am not at all acquainted with Galloway traditions and stories, and should be much obliged by any communication on these subjects. My return will be in about a month from this date, when my address is Abbotsford by Melrose.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obliged servant,

(Signed) "WALTER SCOTT.

"Abbotsford, 28th July, 1814."

An encouraging letter of this kind, from one occupying so high a place in the literature of his country as Sir Walter Scott—though then only known to the world by his poetical works—was well calculated to inspire a newly fledged author with the highest hopes of success. The poem alluded to affords a very fair specimen of the *Mountain Muse*.^{*}

Besides the foregoing, Mr. Train's volume contained "The Funeral of Sir Archibald the Wicked,"² who died in 1710, and was notorious for the part which he took against the Covenanters. Among the notes

¹ George Goldie, Prince's-street, Edinburgh, 8vo. 1814.

^{*} Appendix, Note i, "Elcine de Aggart."

² Of Culzean Castle, now the seat of his descendant, the Marquis of Ailsa.

appended to this poem, is one upon which Sir Walter Scott afterwards founded the tale of "Wandering Willie," in *Redgauntlet*, which historical novel did not appear till 1824.*

The other poems in the *Mountain Muse* were chiefly designed to illustrate the traditions and customs of a former age. "The Grave of Glenalmond" records the violent death of a soldier, after returning from foreign wars. "The Hag of the Heath" affords the author an opportunity of adverting to the popular superstitions of our forefathers, and of collecting in his notes a variety of interesting extracts. "Spunkie; or the Wan'er'd Wight, a Nocturnal Tale"—"The Peasant's Death"—"The Cabal of Witches"—"The Warlock Laird,"¹ &c., partake of the same character. Among the lyrical pieces, the song entitled "The Auld Thing O'er Again," as a picture of the warlike period at which it was written, is well worthy of preservation :—

"Wi' drums and pipes the clachan rang,
I left my goats to wander wide;
And e'en as fast as I could bang,
I bicker'd down the mountain side.
My hazel rung and haslock plaid
Awa' I flang wi' could disdain,
Resolved I would nae langer bide
To do the auld thing o'er again.

Ye barons bold, whose turrets rise
Aboon the wild woods white wi' snaw,
I trow the laddies ye may prize
Wha fight your battles far awa'.
Wi' them to stan', wi' them to fa',
Courageously I crossed the main;
To see, for Caledonia,
The auld thing weel done o'er again.

Right far a-fel' I freely fought,
'Gainst mony an outlandish loon;
An' wi' my good claymore I've brought
Mony a bardie birkie down:
While I had pith to wield it roun',
In battle I ne'er met wi' ane
Could danton me, for Britain's crown,
To do the same thing o'er again.

Although I'm marching life's last stage,
Wi' sorrow crowded roun' my brow;
An' though the knapsack o' auld age
Hangs heavy on my shoulders now—
Yet recollection, ever new,
Discharges a' my toil and pain,
When fancy figures in my view
The pleasant auld thing o'er again."

Such is a specimen of the contents of the little volume which gave rise to the long-continued intimacy and correspondence between the author

* Appendix, Note II, "Grierson of Lagg."

¹ The Laird of Fall. Many stories are told in Ayrshire of the magical powers of the Laird. The remains of his castle, in Tarbolton parish, still exist.

and Sir Walter Scott. Stimulated by the encouragement of his distinguished patron, Mr. Train became still more eager in the pursuit of ancient lore; and being amongst the first to collect old stories in Galloway, with a view to publication, he soon obtained such a reputation, to use his own words, that "even beggars, in the hope of reward, came frequently from afar to Newton Stewart to recite old ballads and relate old stories" to him.

The next letter from Sir Walter was in acknowledgment of various entertaining traditions forwarded by Mr. Train, at the same time soliciting some information regarding the state of Turnberry Castle, the Poet being then engaged in composing the "Lord of the Isles." With what success Mr. Train set about the necessary inquiries, having undertaken a journey to the coast of Ayrshire for that purpose, appears from the notes appended to canto five of that magnificent Poem, wherein is given a description of Turnberry Castle, the landing of Robert the Bruce, and of the hospital founded by the deliverer of Scotland at King's Case, near Prestwick. Through the kindness of Mr. Hamilton, of Pinmore, Mr. Train procured from Colonel Fullerton, one of the *mazors*,¹ or drinking-horns, provided by the king for the use of the lepers, which he transmitted to Sir Walter. This interesting relic, much prized by the Baronet, was among the first of the many valuable antiquarian remains afterwards presented to him—the extensive collection of which now forms one of the chief attractions at Abbotsford. Much of the information communicated was wholly new to Scott. In reply, he says:—"Your information was extremely interesting and acceptable, particularly that which related to the supposed supernatural appearance of the fire, which I hope to make some use of. It gives a fine romantic colour to the whole story." To what purpose Sir Walter availed himself of the tradition, appears from the glowing description of the incident in the "Lord of the Isles:"—

"Now ask you whence that wondrous light,
Whose fairy glow beguiled their sight?
It ne'er was known—yet grey-hair'd eild
A superstitious credence held,
That never did a mortal hand
Wake its broad glare on Carrick's strand;
Nay, and that on the self-same night
When Bruce cross'd o'er, still gleams the light;
Yearly it gleams o'er mount and moor,
And glittering wave, and crimson'd shore;
But whether beam celestial, lent
By heaven to aid the King's descent;
Or fire, hell-kindled from beneath,
To lure him to defeat and death;
Or were it but some meteor strange
Oft such as oft through midnight range,
Startling the traveller, late and alone—
I know not, and it ne'er was known."²

¹ See the contents of "King Robert's Black Chest," in *Hume's History of the House of Douglas*, edition 1644, folio 266.

² Canto v, Stanza xviii; *Lockhart's Life of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. iii, cap. x.

The "Lord of the Isles" was published in the end of December, 1814. In the course of the following month, Sir Walter wrote to Mr. Train, apologising for delaying to thank him for his "kind and liberal communications," and intimating a desire to befriend him, should it ever be in his power. "It would give me great pleasure," are the words of Sir Walter, "if at any time I could be of the least service to you. I do not mean as an author, *for therein the patient has always to minister to himself*; and I trust the success of your own labours will gratify you completely in that particular. But though I am not acquainted personally with any of the gentlemen of your board, it is possible I might have the means, or make them, of forwarding the prospects which you may entertain of advancement; at any rate, I should most willingly try, if you are pleased to give me the opportunity at any time."

The interest thus manifested by Sir Walter in one with whom he had only recently become acquainted, was exceedingly creditable to his feelings, and must have been highly flattering to the subject of his solicitude. Mr. Train, however, was not at this period in a position to benefit by his advances, having been only about seven years in the Excise, and of course not eligible to fill the situation of supervisor—the next step in the ladder of promotion. He had, besides, the interest of Sir David Hunter Blair in his favour, which was greatly strengthened in consequence of the Marquis of Queensberry's brother, the friend of Sir David, having been at the time appointed one of the commissioners of Excise. He was, therefore, not without influential patronage. I mention this, by no means in disparagement to Sir Walter Scott, but in justice to Mr. Train, to show that in his labours for the "great unknown," throughout a period of nearly eighteen years, he was actuated by no selfish or mercenary motive—"enthusiastic admiration of his transcendent genius" alone prompting to the toil. In reply, Mr. Train expresses his thanks for the friendly offer, stating the position in which he stood. Sir Walter afterwards called on Sir David Hunter Blair, at the Caledonian Hunt Club-rooms, in Edinburgh, and, inquiring into the early history of his correspondent, said, on parting, that "having taken him up as his *protege*, he would attend to his future advancement."

Not long after Mr. Train was located at Newton Stewart, he formed an intimacy with Captain James Denniston, author of *Legends of Galloway*,¹ and editor of the ancient ballad of *Craignilder*.² In conjunction with this gentleman, he formed the plan of writing a history of ancient Galloway: and the scheme was so far proceeded in, that printed queries were forwarded to every schoolmaster and parish clerk in the south of Scotland, as well as to several literary and antiquarian gentlemen with

¹ Edinburgh, 1825, 8vo., pp. 294.

² *Battle of Craignilder*, 1832, 12mo.

whom they were acquainted, requesting information on particular subjects of inquiry.¹ As the circular was signed by Mr. Train, the communications in reply were chiefly addressed to him; and in this way he added immensely to his knowledge of Gallovidian antiquities. Amongst other things he discovered the *Synod Book of Galloway*, commencing in 1688 and ending in 1716, which had been lost for many years. By the information and assistance of Mr. Samuel Wilson, of Burnbrae, he was enabled to trace the Great Roman Wall through Galloway for upwards of sixty miles; and, with the aid of Mr. Hettrick, of Dalmellington, he also traced the Roman Road from the Doon of Tynron, in Dumfriesshire, to the town of Ayr.² In short, the information accumulated relative to the history, antiquities, manners, and customs of the ancient Gallovidians, furnished ample details for the projected work; but the moment the correspondence of Sir Walter was entered into, he not only persuaded Captain Denniston to abandon the embryo history, but from thenceforth resolved himself on giving up all idea of authorship, determined to devote his attention to the collection of whatever might be interesting or advantageous to the gifted baronet. The greater portion of the material collected, after having being digested and extended, found its way to Abbotsford. Some of the communications, however, were sent as they were received; one, in particular, from Mr. Broadfoot, teacher at the Clachan of Peningham—author of several popular songs—it is, perhaps, worth mentioning, was signed *Clashbottom*, a professional appellation derived from the use of the birch. This facetious individual was very nearly related to the celebrated "Jedediah of Gandercleugh;" and, like him, frequently tasted the mountain dew with the exciseman and the landlord, not in the Wallace Inn at Gandercleugh, but at the sign of the "Shoulder of Mutton" in Newton Stewart, being the prototype of his now celebrated namesake.³

Among other legendary stories transmitted, Mr. Train gave an account of an astrologer who had wandered in the wilds of Galloway; and, as *Guy Mannering* did not appear for two years afterwards, it was reasonable to suppose that this brief narrative had supplied the groundwork of that inimitable novel. Sir Walter, however, explains in the introduction, that the story was originally told him by an old servant of his father; but Lockhart, in his *Life of Scott*, has given the whole of the ballad⁴ on which the romance was founded, as recovered by Mr. Train, from the recitation of an old lady in Castle Douglas.

As previously mentioned, Mr. Train was one of a number of assistant officers despatched to Perthshire in 1810, for the suppression of illicit

¹ Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. iii, cap. x.

² Chalmers's *Caledonia*, vol iii, pp. 237, 449.

³ Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, ut supra.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 405.

distillation, which was then carried on in that quarter to a great extent. While engaged in that service, he had been an attentive observer of the working of the excise statutes; and he conceived that the growing opposition to the law might be greatly obviated by certain salutary alterations in the system. He accordingly drew up an essay on the subject, but it was not till 1816 that he had an opportunity of placing it before the board; when, through the instrumentality of Sir Walter Scott, the manuscript was shewn to Mr. Earl, one of the commissioners of the customs, who highly approved of the view he had taken of the subject. Among other evils of the excise laws, the essay pointed out the bad effects of what was called the *Highland Line*, and of not licensing stills of a less extent than five hundred gallons, recommending, at the same time the total drawback of the duty on malt used in legal distillation, as the most certain method of putting down the efforts of the Highland smuggler. The essay not only met the approbation of Mr. Earl, but of the board of excise and customs, accompanied by whose recommendations it was forwarded to the lords of the treasury; and Mr. Train had the gratification of seeing his suggestions ultimately become the law of the land.

Continuing his researches throughout Galloway, Mr. Train was successful in discovering a variety of curious remains. He became possessed of a Roman battle-axe, found in the Moss of Cree; and the head of a spear, picked up near to Merton Hall, in the parish of Peningham, where the military road passes from Newton Stewart to Glenluce. A razor of peculiar workmanship, found at the Boss Cairn of Dranadow—an immense accumulation of stones on the Moor of Minnigaff—with the word "Paris" on the blade, and bearing to have been manufactured in the fifteenth century, also came into his possession;¹ and indirectly, from a descendant of Rob Roy, he procured an antique purse, which had actually belonged to that celebrated freebooter. Having been invited to Edinburgh by Sir Walter, whom he had not as yet seen, Mr. Train set out on his journey for the metropolis in May 1816, carrying with him the spleuchan of Rob Roy, as a relic in which the baronet was likely to be interested. I shall extract from Mr. Train's memoranda, his own account of his reception and entertainment:—

"Upon my arrival in town, I was received by Sir Walter in the most friendly manner; he seemed delighted with my gleanings. I found that he had even then begun to collect specimens of ancient armour. He pointed out to me particularly a pair of large old brass spurs, with large rowels—two Andrea Ferraras, with basket hilts—a leathern target, studded with huge brass nails—and an Indian coat-of-mail, made of wire rings, which articles, I presume, formed in 1816 the greater part of that museum which has since become so extensive.

"The Ettrick Shepherd was in town, and Sir Walter on learning that we were not personally acquainted, for the purpose of introducing me to the Bard of Aultrie, despatched a servant with a card, inviting him to dinner that day, but he could not be found; even Blackwood did

¹ *History of Galloway*, vol. II, appendix, p. 62.

not know in what part of the town he lodged. I regretted this the more, as Sir Walter had had the kindness to invite to his table that day likewise, on my account, the prototype of the fifth Bard in the 'Queen's Wake.'

"I have often thought since, what a high treat it would be to see the Galloway poet placed beside his satirical acquaintance from Ettrick.¹

"The impression made on my mind by the picture of the 'bungling bard,' was really nowise relieved by his dogmatic assertions and pretensions during the evening. A brace of ptarmigans at table, which Sir Walter said he had received that day as a present from the north, was a treat to every one present except him from the 'sullen Orr,' who said those birds were as abundant as pigeons in Galloway. Sir Walter smiled, and I made no reply.

"Wilkie's well-known picture of Sir Walter and his family had just been received from the hands of the artist. Lady Scott brought it in after dinner; and Captain Ferguson, Mr. Pringle, then editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, and another gentleman whose name I have now forgotten, praised the execution of the whole piece; but the Galloway man, with much effrontery, persisted in saying there was not one correct likeness in the group. Miss Scott, with much archness, replied:—'Ah! Mr. M———, I had quite forgotten that you were a painter. I have often heard it said that there is no friendship between persons of the same profession; but I never had the pleasure of seeing the adage so completely verified before!' Lady Scott's face reddened, and her eye glanced seemingly with indignation; but she left the room without speaking, and did not return again that evening.

"During the time occupied in examining the pictures, and whilst Miss Scott played some national airs upon the harp, Sir Walter was engaged in his library with Mr. Alexander Campbell, author of *Albyn's Anthology*, 'trying,' as he said when he returned to the drawing-room, 'how some verses composed by him would suit a beautiful Gaelic air composed by Mr. Campbell.' I think the air was—*Rimhin alius! stu! mo ran,*' and the words by Sir Walter—*The sun upon the Wardlaw hill.*

"Having to leave town next day, Sir Walter said I might rise early and amuse myself in his library till breakfast, which I accordingly did. His library was then very extensive, but he made large additions to it afterwards. His pictures on canvass consisted chiefly of a full-length portrait of himself, a fine view of the Island of Staffa, with an original painting of the celebrated Lord Dundee. I was examining this picture with much attention, when Sir Walter entered the room. 'Claverhouse,' said I, 'appears more mild and gentle than one could suppose from reading the accounts of his actions, as detailed by Wodrow, Cruickshanks, or any other ecclesiastical historian who has treated of the period in which he lived.' 'No man,' replied Sir Walter, 'has been more traduced by his historians, by following out the superstitious belief that he rode a goblin galloway, was proof against shot, and in league with the devil.' I asked Sir Walter, if he might not, in good hands, be made the hero of a national romance, as interesting as either Wallace or the Pretender. 'He might,' was the reply; 'but your western zealots would require to be faithfully portrayed to make the picture complete.' Seeing that the subject pleased Sir Walter, I added—'and if the story was delivered as if from the mouth of Old Mortality—in a manner somewhat similar to the *Lay of the Last Minstrel*—it would certainly heighten the effect of the tale.' 'Old Mortality! man! who was he?' said Sir Walter hastily, his eye brightening at the same time; and I will never forget the intense anxiety he evinced whilst I related briefly all the particulars of that singular individual I could then recollect.

"I promised, immediately on my return to Galloway, to make every possible inquiry respecting him, and to forward the same either to Abbotsford or Edinburgh, without the least delay. He said he would look most anxiously for my communication; and he spoke these words so emphatically, as to leave no doubt on my mind that the information required was for the purpose of being published.

"At breakfast, again adverting to the covenanted in the west of Scotland, Sir Walter said that great distress had been brought upon the inhabitants of Ayrshire, in the year 1678, by the rapacity of the 'Highland host,' and afterwards by the visionary folly instilled by the clergy in the minds of their simple followers. He spoke, too, of the singular charter granted by Robert II. in the year 1378, relating to the church of St. John, at Ayr, which I had recently published in a periodical work. He said he had never visited the ancient town of Ayr; but should have done so ere that time, had I not sent him so much information respecting the landing of Bruce in Carrick and the leper establishment at Prestwick, afterwards called King's Case. Neither had he visited Galloway, farther than being once at Gatahouse on professional business; but he said I had raised his curiosity so much respecting these places, that, if his

¹ Hogg's *Queen's Wake*, night i, stanza xxvii.

health permitted, he was resolved to take a journey to that quarter the following summer, but that he would apprise me before hand, in order that I might accompany him to the most noted places : but he unfortunately came no farther than Dumfries, being obliged by private business to return to Abbotsford.

"Sir Walter, Lady Scott, and the younger branches of the family, were all at table. I was the only stranger present. Miss Scott was at that time a lively, intelligent young lady, and seemingly very fond of music. She said she had been pressing her father for some time to make verses to the Gaelic air usually sung by women at the '*wauking of the cloth*' in the Highlands. Sir Walter acknowledged that it was good groundwork for a song, and said that he would at some not far distant period comply with her request ; but I do not remember having since seen any lines or verses by Sir Walter on that subject.

"The young heir-apparent of Abbotsford was then attending the high school, and it was his custom, when on his way thither every morning from Castle-street, to call at the shop of the family baker for a roll of bread. On the preceding day, having received his accustomed loaf, and leaving the shop with it in his hand, as he was in the act of putting it into his pocket, a young tatterdemalion snatched it from him, and ran off. Upon Charles, the younger brother, relating the story, his mother upbraided Walter in a most jocular manner, for allowing an urchin (who he admitted was much younger than himself) to take, as it were, the very bit out of his mouth, without his making any effort to recover it, or to chastise the naughty imp. 'Oh ! mother, he was seemingly very poor, and perhaps hungry. I did not care for the loaf, for I fasted till I came home to dinner.' 'Your motives were perhaps good,' said his father, 'but it was childish in you, Walter, to punish yourself for the impudence perhaps of a worthless individual. However, if you profit as much by losing your loaf, as Franklin did by purchasing his whistle—the *bit was better g'en than eaten*, as the old proverb says.'

"The great Spanish wolf-dog, *Maida*, was in attendance during breakfast, and he did not lack his part. He seemed very much attached to Sir Walter, who said he got him in a present from Glengary, who had then the only specimen of that breed in Scotland. As we were thus conversing, a coach arrived to carry Sir Walter to the Court of Session. At parting, he most kindly invited me to Abbotsford, where he said he had much more leisure than in Edinburgh.

"Lady Scott afterwards showed me a gold snuff-box, presented by George IV, then Prince Regent, to Sir Walter. It is of a square form, with a short inscription on the inside of the lid. Likewise a large silver chalice, presented to him by the Prince of Wales in 1806 ; and a silver flagon of very exquisite workmanship, a present from the City of Edinburgh. But my attention was most attracted by the magnificent sepulchral vase of silver, which Lady Scott said cost three hundred pounds, presented by Lord Byron to Sir Walter. It contained several fragments of a human skull, with the letter, which Sir Walter says was afterwards purloined. It was a wretched scrawl, not exceeding, I think, twenty words in length ; but was nevertheless valuable to the legitimate possessor, but could not be so to any other person, even although the theft admitted of being concealed.¹

"Proud of the kind reception I had met with in Edinburgh from Sir Walter, I returned to Galloway, resolving to use every means in my power to serve him, by collecting traditionary stories of every description, but more particularly what related to the Covenanters and to Old Mortality."

Mr. Train, speedily implementing his promise, transmitted an interesting account of Old Mortality, and several other matters of value to the author of *Waverley*, in return for which Sir Walter, writing on the 16th of Dec., 1816, after apologising for not sooner thanking him for "the very curious communications," from which he derived both instruction and amusement, says :—"You will be surprised to find Old Mortality has got into print. As a trifling return for your attention, and presuming that the tales will interest you, I send a copy for your acceptance by the Post-patrick mail. I shall be glad if they afford you some amusement."

While in London for a short time in the summer of 1815, Sir Walter became acquainted with the great antiquary, Mr. Chalmers, author of *Caledonia*, then engaged in preparing the third volume of that work for

¹ *Moore's Life of Byron.*

the press; and as it was to comprise all the southern and western counties of Scotland, Sir Walter mentioned the probability of Mr. Train being able to assist him in the ancient history of Galloway and Ayrshire, giving him at the same time an account of the "Pict's Kiln" and the "Murder Hole,"¹ which Mr. Train had previously forwarded to Sir Walter. This led to a correspondence with Mr. Chalmers, which continued till the death of that eminent individual, and was a source of much pleasure to Mr. Train, who contributed to his great national work a succinct account of the Roman post on "the Black water of the Dee,"² near New Galloway—a sketch and description of the Roman camp at Rispaing,³ near Whithorn—and of the Roman way⁴ from the Doon of Tynron, in Dumfriesshire, to the town of Ayr. Mr. Chalmers, unacquainted with these facts, asserted, in his introduction, that the Romans had never penetrated into Wigtonshire; but, in the third volume, he took the opportunity of correcting the mistake, and in a letter, dated "Office for Trade, Whitehall, 20th June, 1818," compliments Mr. Train in the following terms:—
"You will enjoy the glory of being the first who has traced the Roman footsteps so far westward into Wigtonshire, and the Roman Road from Dumfriesshire into Ayr town. You have gone far beyond any correspondent of mine in these parts."

Mr. Train had the merit of tracing another vestige of antiquity, which, if not equal in importance to the Roman road, involved a great deal more labour and research. This was an old wall, termed "The Deil's Dyke," mentioned by the minister of Kells, in the appendix to the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, as an old dyke of extraordinary magnitude, which ran south and north to the extent of ten miles. Dr. Clapperton of Lochmaben, father of the celebrated traveller of that name, formed the design of tracing the wall; but he died before he accomplished his object, and it never was known what progress he had made in the attempt. Though the task demanded much more leisure and means than Mr. Train could well command, he nevertheless resolved to undertake it; and, with an enthusiasm which none but a genuine antiquary could possibly feel, he ultimately succeeded in tracing the dyke from the side of Lochryan, in Wigtonshire, to Hightae, in the parish of Lochmaben, Dumfriesshire, a distance of nearly eighty miles.⁵ In the course of his progress, he consulted almost every charter of the lands through which the wall passed; but as the written land-rights of Galloway are chiefly of a modern date, he obtained no additional information from these documents, and the question of its origin still remains unsettled. Mr. Train had commenced

¹ *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vii, pp. 130, 131.

² *Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 226.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 447.

⁵ For a detailed account of these ancient remains, see *New Statistical Account of Wigtonshire*, pp. 232, 233, 234; *Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 237; and *History of Galloway*, appendix, note b.

his survey of the old wall prior to his becoming acquainted with Mr. Chalmers, and it was nearly finished when he communicated the particulars to that gentleman who had never heard of it before. A number of communications passed between them on the subject. In one of his letters, Mr. Chalmers says :—

“ All the late antiquarian discoveries in the south of Scotland sink into insignificance when compared with the ‘ Deil’s Dyke ! ’ But I wish you to understand, my good sir, that there are queries arising out of your communications which justify the observation of Mr. Hume, that there are questions in history as difficult of solution as any in the sciences,—such is the *Deil’s Dyke* ! Considering all the circumstances, it is extremely difficult to assign its age, its object, or its builders. In Ireland, there is nothing like the Deil’s Dyke, the Catrael, and other works of that nature in Scotland. The inference is, that the Deil’s Dyke was not built by Irish hands ; and I am disposed to think it is several centuries older than the arrival of the Irish Cruithne or Picts in Galloway.

“ The history of Galloway would of itself, in your hands, supply sufficient materials for the curious pen of history, though it would be subject to the objections which may be formed to all history, that it is less captivating than poetry, and less amusing than the romance, which is so attractive in the hands of our friend Walter Scott, and for which, I am informed, you have supplied many materials. ”

“ *Whitehall, 22d August, 1819.* ”

This allusion to his correspondence with Sir Walter, Mr. Train conceived to be one of the many stratagems adopted to unveil the author of the *Waverley Novels*, then only known to a very limited circle. In his reply, he of course left the concluding part of the antiquary’s letter unanswered. Though his communications to Chalmers were numerous, and some of them very lengthy, it did not interrupt his correspondence with Sir Walter, who, in a letter dated January 14, 1817, thanks Mr. Train for his “ communications, past, present, and to come,” and intimates that as a change had taken place in the crown council, a particular friend of his having been appointed lord advocate,² he had great hopes of securing his immediate promotion. The necessary information, as to length of service and other particulars, was forwarded according to the request of Sir Walter ; but, though no exertion was spared on his part, it was not for some time afterwards that his repeated applications were successful. •

Amongst other communications to which Sir Walter refers in his letter, was the story of “ Sir Ulrick Macwhirter ”—a tradition relative to the estate of Blairquhan, afterwards published, as originally written by Mr. Train, in *Chambers’s Pictures of Scotland*. A copy of this tradition having been sent to Sir David Hunter Blair, the early patron of the author, to whom, as possessor of the estate, it would be no doubt interesting, Sir Walter, apprised of the circumstance, made no use of the tradition, as he said—merely that Sir David might publish it the way most agreeable to himself, who accordingly caused the story to be sent to Mr. Robert Chambers.

¹ In *Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 237, Mr. Chambers referring to the same subject says :—“ It is obviously a very ancient work, and was probably formed by the Romanized Britons after the departure of the Roman armies.”

² Mr. A. Maconochie, afterwards Lord Meadowbank.

Another interesting document forwarded to Sir Walter about this period, was an old manuscript history of the Stewart family of Invernahyle, which had been picked up by Dr. Thomson, of Newton Stewart, while practising as a surgeon in the district of Appin. It contained an account of "Donald Na Nord, the Hammerer," with which Sir Walter was greatly pleased. In *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland to his Friend in London*, edited by R. Jamieson, and published in 1822, it appeared for the first time as a contribution from Sir Walter Scott; and, subsequently, in the second series of *Tales of a Grandfather*,¹ the life of Donald the Hammerer was given in a condensed form. Writing to Mr. Train on the 22d February, 1817, Sir Walter says:—"I am much obliged by your continued and kind communications. That on the subject of the Invernahyle family, I am particularly interested in; for Alexander Stewart, with whom the pedigree concludes, was my father's intimate friend; and, as I was very fond of his society while a boy, and of listening to his old stories, I have still in my recollection no small stock of legendary lore, derived from that source, and always think of his memory with peculiar fondness. * * * * Pray, secure me as many Galloway traditions as you can, for they are most interesting. Were I as poetical as I have been, I would certainly weave the tale of *Plunton* into verse." Sir Walter afterwards founded the melodrama of *The Doom of Devorgoil* on this story,² which was originally obtained from Captain Denniston, and forwarded in the handwriting of that gentleman.

Another remnant of antiquity afterwards fell into the hands of Mr. Train, which was greatly prized by Sir Walter Scott. This was the ancient granite weapon called a *cell*.³ It was found in the Moor of Knockbrax, in the parish of Peningham, about eight feet below the surface. On acquainting the author of *Caledonia* with the particulars of the discovery, he wrote as follows in reply:—"I have seen only one *cell* discovered in Ireland; but there have been several found in England, and even in Scotland. From this and other circumstances, I am inclined to infer that the settlement in Ireland is much later than that in Britain, whatever General Vallancy may say."

Mr. Train's next visit to Edinburgh occurred in 1817, at which period he remained about a week, and was almost a constant guest at "Old 39," North Castle-street. On meeting, Sir Walter, not having seen him subsequently to the publication of *Old Mortality*, spoke freely on the subject

¹ Cap. xxxix.

² See *Lockhart's Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. iv. cap. ii. In a letter to Terry, there inserted, Sir Walter says:—"This is a noble and very dramatic tradition preserved in Galloway. The story admits of the highest degree of decoration, both by poetry, music, and scenery." The scene of the tale is laid at Lennox Plunton, the property of A. Murray, Esq., of Broughton, member of parliament for Kirkcudbright.

³ *Caledonia*, vol. iii.

of that novel, and of the fate of Supervisor Kennedy, as recorded in *Guy Mannering*. Amongst other guests at the table, he one day met the late Sir Alexander Boswell, who, on that occasion, presented Sir Walter with a thin quarto volume, which he said had been "written, printed, and bound by himself." The poem was entitled the *Flitting of the Sow*, founded on an Ayrshire tradition.

In the spring of 1818, Mr. Train sent Sir Walter the ladle of the last resident hangman in Dumfries, with an account of the manner of using it, as described in the 13th volume of the *Waverley Novels*; and shortly afterwards he furnished a sketch of "Fleckless Fanny," the prototype of Madge Wildfire, gleaned from the recollection of old people in various parts of the country, which Sir Walter published in his notes to the *Heart of Mid-Lothian*. Having learned, also, from an excise friend in Morayshire, a great many particulars regarding the superstitions and customs of the Norlings—a colony of fishermen who at an early period took up their residence at Findhorn, similar to those of Buckhaven, in Fifeshire—he drew up an account of them, which he sent to Sir Walter. About this time he likewise forwarded several interesting communications on antiquarian subjects, furnished by his friend Mr. Robert Malcolmson, of Kirkcudbright, author of some beautiful poetical pieces, written chiefly in a plaintive strain. The merits of these exquisite productions have been warmly acknowledged by the public.

The next relic which he transmitted to Abbotsford was a very large horn, supposed to be that of an elk, found nearly twelve feet below the surface in the bed of the Water of Cree, during the dry summer of 1819.¹ Though specimens of natural history were rather out of his way, the fossil was nevertheless greatly prized by Sir Walter, and he acknowledged the receipt of it in the following facetious terms:—

"I had not time to put my friend the Lord Advocate to the Horn, he came to it himself yesterday. I do not mean, my dear sir, as you will no doubt readily perceive, a 'horning from the Court of Session,' but to see your fossil. I have assured him most sincerely that upon his fulfilling his promise made in your behalf, I will feel great pleasure in presenting him with it, not to place on his brow, because I do not think he requires such an unwieldy ornament; but, when he is raised to the bench, an apppointment which I understand is soon to take place, to hang it with a broad blue ribbon round his neck, as emblematic of the 'Hornings' so frequently used by their lordships."

The promotion of Mr. Maconochie to the bench followed soon after the date of the foregoing letter. He was succeeded by Sir William Rae, to whom Sir Walter lost no time in applying in behalf of his *protégé*; and, in a letter of the 27th January, 1820, joyfully intimates that the board, at the request of the lord advocate, had appointed him to attend with a view to his promotion. By the next post, Mr. Train received a letter from the board, calling him to Edinburgh, but for what purpose he could never rightly understand, having been only asked a few trifling

¹ *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. vii, p. 52.

questions by Mr. Parish, the chairman of the board, who told him to return again to his charge, and his promotion would take place in due course.

In the course of ten months afterwards, he had the pleasure of receiving a letter from Sir Walter, announcing his appointment as supervisor, which was speedily confirmed by an official intimation on the subject. Sir Walter wrote as follows :—

“DEAR MR. TRAIN,

“You know I am a negligent correspondent; but I have not been an idle or an ineffectual solicitor. I went with your last letter in my hand, to upbraid my friend the lord advocate with the delay of the only promise he had ever made me, and he stopped my mouth in the most agreeable manner, by saying Mr. Parish, the chairman of the excise board, had acquainted him that my friend Mr. Train was named a surveyor. I think, therefore, I may safely wish you joy; and I assure you it was not my fault I have not had that pleasure long ago. * * *

“I wish you hearty joy of your appointment, which you must soon hear of officially. I assure you it will give me pleasure any time to give you a further lift.

“I am, dear Mr. Supervisor Train,

Yours, &c.,

“WALTER SCOTT.”

Mr. Train was now removed to officiate as supervisor at Cupar-Fife, where he had a wide district under his charge. Carrying the spirit of antiquarian inquiry into this new county, he speedily had all the excise officers within his bounds impressed with similar curiosity, and eager to search out old relics and pick up traditionary stories. In his zeal, one of them, then stationed at Auchtermuchty, not only stripped the state chair of James IV, in the palace of Falkland, of nearly all the cloth that covered it, but broke down the greater part of the carving, which he forwarded to Mr. Train at Cupar! This gave the antiquary much uneasiness; for, however greatly he valued such “fragments of time gone by,” he never coveted anything that could not be procured in an honourable way. He was successful in collecting some curious traditions respecting the famous crosses of M'Duff and Mugdrum, which so interested Sir Walter that he visited the place in the course of the following summer, and shortly afterwards published the drama of “M'Duff's Cross.”

From Cupar he was soon removed to Kirkintilloch, to officiate in room of the supervisor of that district, who was indisposed. Here he resumed his antiquarian pursuits with unabated zeal. Among the first fruits of his labour were several valuable Roman relics—a sword, a tripod, and a brass plate—the latter found in the ruins of Castle Carey about 1775. He also transmitted to Sir Walter a very interesting account of the image of St. Flanning, which, prior to the reformation, had adorned a chapel bearing the name of the saint, the ruins of which still stand, a few miles distant from Kirkintilloch. The peculiar virtues of St. Flanning adhered to him long after the reverse of his fortunes.*

* Appendix, Not III, “Image of St. Flanning.”

From Kirkintilloch, Mr. Train was removed to Queensferry in June 1822. Here he was equally alert in the service of Sir Walter, having, besides several remains of antiquity, transmitted him a very amusing account of the annual "riding of the marches" by the freemen of Linlithgow. While in this district, he became possessed of a curious object of natural history. Mr. Struthers, proprietor of a brick manufactory at Blackness, but who lived at Linlithgow, happening to be astir one summer morning pretty early, met a drum-boy proceeding from the palace towards the guard-house, with what appeared to him to be a bird's nest in his hand. Stepping up to see what it contained, he found six eggs in it, one of which was broken. To his surprise, the nest and eggs appeared to be all of marble, but retaining their original shape and colour. The drummer said, that being on guard, and feeling himself drowsy at daybreak, he went to the palace to amuse himself; and finding his way in, he discovered the nest in one of the recesses of the wall, in that part of the palace called "Queen Mary's Chambers." Mr. Struthers made a purchase of the curiosity for a trifle, and the "palace nest," as it was afterwards termed, soon became an object of much investigation. It was not, as at first supposed, a petrification, but an encrustation of calcareous earth and sand, and deemed most likely to have been brought to the palace as a curiosity, where it had evidently escaped the conflagration of the building by the soldiers of Oliver Cromwell. This conjecture was strengthened by the circumstance of the one side of it being blackened apparently by smoke.

As the district of South Queensferry extended to within three miles of Edinburgh, Mr. Train had frequent opportunities of calling on Sir Walter. At his request, he set about collecting information respecting the manners, customs, traditions, and superstitions of the fishermen of Buckhaven, and, in doing so, first gave Sir Walter a description of the *Hailly Hoo*, a superstition alluded to in *Quentin Durward*.¹

In consequence of the cessation of the duty on salt, Mr. Train was removed, in January 1823, to Falkirk. Here he became acquainted with Joseph Stainton, Esq., one of the proprietors and sole conductor of the great iron works at Carron, from whom, before his death, he obtained the stock-bow of Sir John the Graeme, who fell at the battle of Falkirk in 1298.² From Mr Stainton he received various other interesting relics. These, together with two drinking *quaighs*—the one made of a portion of Wallace's Tree in the Torwood; the other, of the yew planted above the grave of the gallant Graeme—he presented to Sir Walter, who seemed highly gratified with this renewed instance of Mr. Train's zeal.

Well aware that the business of supervisor is one of almost unremitting drudgery, Sir Walter endeavoured to procure the advance of Mr. Train

¹ *Waverley Novels*, vol. xxxii, p. 284.

² See *MS. Catalogue of the Articles of Vertu at Abbotsford*.

to the rank of general surveyor or collector. With this view he applied to the prime minister of the day, and communicated the result in the following note :—

“TO MR. JOSEPH TRAIN.

“DEAR MR. TRAIN,

“I have received two very kind letters from Lord Liverpool and Mr. Peel, on the subject of your promotion. It seems the appointment lies with the board of excise, not with the treasury; but they have recommended you to Mr. Lushington, which one would think would be sufficient from their natural high influence.

“I remain, dear Mr. Train,

“Your obedient servant,
(Signed)

“WALTER SCOTT.

“Edinburgh, 23rd June, 1824.”

Unfortunately for Mr. Train, the excise in Scotland had been placed under the control of London commissioners in the beginning of 1824, at which period Englishmen exclusively were appointed to the higher stations, and a system of persecution ensued, which, in a short time, left few of the former superior officers on the list. Mr. Train did not altogether escape the danger of being swept away by the inundation of expectants from the southern side of the border, who went about every where endeavouring to fix charges of misconduct on the officers. One of these individuals, with the help of a crowbar, succeeded in wresting off the fastening of a distillery utensil in Mr. Train's district; and though the latter proved, to the satisfaction of the board, that it was not defective, he was nevertheless removed to the Wigton district, “not,” as his friend commissioner Cornwall informed him, “for any neglect on his part, but for being so plain in his defence, which *courtesy to the strangers* required to be marked by the displeasure of the board!” Such was the degraded state to which the change of 1824 reduced the officials of the Scottish excise. Soon after this, however, on a vacancy occurring in the Dumfries station, Mr. Train was transferred to that district on his own application.

In 1825, a paragraph having appeared in the *Paisley Advertiser*, containing some facts relative to the correspondence between Sir Walter and Mr. Train, the object of which was to fix the authorship of the *Waverley Novels* on Sir Walter; Mr. Train felt it necessary to undertake a journey to Abbotsford, in order to justify himself from all suspicion of a breach of confidence. He found Sir Walter exceedingly indifferent on the subject. The baronet was in Dublin when he first observed the article alluded to in a Paris newspaper, and his only surprise was, how it had found its way there before he had seen it in the English journals. On this occasion he presented Sir Walter with the head of an Uris, an Andrea Ferrara, said to have belonged to the famous Laird of Lagg, and several other antiquities.¹ On the way to Abbotsford, by Mount Benger, Mr. Train first became personally acquainted with the Ettrick Shepherd, with whom, on

¹ See *Catalogue of Antiquities and Curiosities at Abbotsford*.

his return, he again met at Lamington fair, where a party of strolling players were to enact the "Brownie of Bodsbeck" in a barn, at which the shepherd seemed much pleased.

Mr. Train again visited Sir Walter at Edinburgh in the spring of the following year, when he related to him at table the story of a Fifeshire Surgeon's Daughter, with which his host was greatly pleased.¹ This formed the nucleus of the much-admired tale bearing that name in the *Chronicles of the Canongate*; and the narrator was no doubt gratified to observe the honourable mention made of his name in the introduction to that work by Sir Walter, in reference to this circumstance.

It was natural, perhaps, to suppose that a person of literary habits like Mr. Train, might not be so zealous in the discharge of his excise duties as others who had no such taste to abstract their attention. An idea of this kind seems to have influenced the secretary of the board of excise at Edinburgh—a petty tyrant of the name of Pape, who held the situation for about seven years. A person in the coast guard, who went disguised for the purpose, having discovered that the keeper of Sark-bridge toll-bar, about twenty-six miles from Dumfries, sold whiskey privately without a license, Mr. Train was reduced for a time from the rank of supervisor, his crime being that of allowing a person of a different establishment to come into his district, and detect what should have been discovered by himself or by some of his officers. Considering the nature of the offence—the distance of the toll-bar from his residence—and the previous service of Mr. Train—the suspension must be considered as very severe. At the end of six months, however, he was restored to his former rank, and appointed to Castle-Douglas district, in the room of Mr. Robert Porteous, one of the most efficient supervisors in the service of the excise, who had also become a victim of the notorious Pape. He was the more readily reappointed to a district from the fact that, up to the period before noticed, he had never been reported by any supervisor or collector, under whom he had been placed, for a single neglect or omission of duty. Indeed, he had the satisfaction of ranking them all as his personal friends—in particular, James Steel, esquire, first class general surveying examiner at the general board; Collector Williamson, of Linlithgow; James Cornwall, esquire, the receiver-general of Scotland; and commissioner Rose, of the board at Edinburgh, who, from the period of his entry into the service, did not cease to take the most lively interest in his welfare. In Castle-Douglas, Mr. Train has since resided, and until the period of his retirement from active service, performed the laborious duties of his avocation, without the slightest censure from the board. Notwithstanding the fatiguing nature of his business, he contrived to devote considerable attention to his favourite researches, and to continue his correspondence with Sir Walter. The

¹ *Waverley Novels*, vol. xlviii, p. 150.

first of his letters from this district is dated November, 1827, from which I make the following extract:—

"I have learned that there is in the possession of the Glover Incorporation of Perth a peculiarly fantastic garb, that was formerly worn by one of the morrice-dancers in all their public processions. The first public exhibition of it was made before one of our kings on a platform erected on the Tay, near Perth, when the river was frozen over, on which occasion his majesty was so much pleased that he conferred particular marks of favour on the corporation, which they enjoy to this day.

"This antique consists of stout fawn-coloured silk cloth, with trappings of red and green satin, richly flowered, so fashioned as to cover the legs and arms of the wearer, over which parts of the body are buckled buff or chamolite leather strops, with twenty-one small bells affixed to each. My informant thinks the bells amount to at least two hundred and fifty, each having a different tone.

"There is likewise a cap made of the same materials, in the form of a cone, covered with a kind of network of leather thongs, the ends of which hang around the wearer's neck and shoulder; and on the end of each thong is fixed a large nutshell, intended to rattle as the wearer walked or moved his head.

"The last wearer of this fantastic habiliment was the last Lord Lynedoch,¹ who frequently paraded the streets of Perth in it, as a recruiting officer, about the commencement of the last war, when raising the 96th regiment of foot."

On the hint thus furnished regarding the old morrice-dancers, Sir Walter improved with his usual ability in the *Fair Maid of Perth*, where the peculiarities of that class of mountebanks are graphically portrayed. The "Wild Man of Dinwiddie Green," the "Fire Raid," and "Kinstrie's Willie," were among the traditions forwarded by Mr. Train about this time.

Sir Walter having intimated his intention of publishing a new edition of his novels and romances, from *Waverley* to *Woodstock*, with an introduction and notes, Mr. Train readily set about collecting the desired information; and, with all possible speed, forwarded to Abbotsford an account of skipper Yawkins, the prototype of Dirk Hatteraick, and of Flora Marshall, the supposed original of Meg Merrilees; also an anecdote of Willie Marshall, king of the western gypsies—all of which were inserted in the fourth volume of the series, page 374. The additional account of Old Mortality, and the sketch of Cooper Clyment, in volume ix, pp. 227, 228, with the account of Cutlar Mac Culloch, volume xxix, p. 174, were also sent about the same time. In acknowledgment of these favours, Sir Walter, on the 17th April, 1829, wrote as follows:—

"MY DEAR TRAIN,

"Your valuable communications arrived in clipping time, and adds highly to the obligations which your kindness has so often conferred on me. I shall hardly venture to mention the extraordinary connexion between the Bonaparte family and that of *Old Mortality*, till I learn from you how it is made out; whether by continued acknowledgment and correspondence between the families of the two brothers, or otherwise. A strain of genius (too highly toned in the old patriarch) seems to have run through the whole family. The minister of Galashiels is a clever man, and so is his brother. What a pity *Old Mortality's* grave cannot be discovered! I would certainly erect a monument to his memory at my own expense."

The greater portion of Sir Walter's letter is devoted to the subject of Mr. Train's promotion, which he seems never to have lost sight of, though,

¹ Lord Lynedoch died at London in January, 1844, in the ninety-fourth year of his age.

as we have seen, his exertions were not always crowned with success. In reply, Mr. Train stated that he had been prevented from answering his kind letter sooner, Mr. Paterson not having drawn up the account of his family so early as promised. "I thought it would be more satisfactory to you," he adds, "to have an account of his relations in America, written by himself, than any thing I could say on the subject. Although you will see that what is stated in the enclosed communication does not amount to positive proof of the *Queen of Westphalia's father being the son of Old Mortality*, I for my own part have no doubt that he was." The document here referred to, furnished by Robert Paterson, of Dalry, Kirkcudbrightshire, son of old Mortality, then in his seventy-fifth year, and who is yet alive, gives a distinct account of his brother, John, sailing in a vessel called "The Golden Rule of Whitehaven," from the Water of Cree, in Galloway, for America in the year 1774—of his making a considerable fortune during the American war—and of his afterwards settling at Baltimore, where he improved his fortune, married, and became highly respectable. He had a son named Robert, after old Mortality, his father, and a daughter named Elizabeth, after his mother, whose maiden name was Grey. Robert married an American lady, who, outliving him, became Marchioness of Wellesley. Elizabeth was married to Jerome Bonaparte, and after her separation from him wedded Monsieur Serrurier, the French consul at Baltimore. Extraordinary as these circumstances may appear, Sir Walter was convinced of the truth of the statement, and declined publishing it solely in deference to the Duke of Wellington.

The next communication from Sir Walter was a letter of introduction, carried in June, 1829, by Mr. Skene, of Rubislaw,¹ on a visit to the Galloway coast, for the purpose of taking a few sketches of local scenery, which were afterwards published as illustrations to the novels of *Guy Mannering*, *The Abbot*, and *Redgauntlet*.² On his return to Edinburgh, Mr. Skene recommended Mr. Train to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries, by whom he was admitted a member at their meeting in November, 1829.

Having obtained from Sir Walter, a copy of *Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, a very scarce and curious work, Mr. Train, many years ago, conceived the idea of writing the present history of that Island. In the course of his researches for material, a manuscript volume fell accidentally into his hands, containing one hundred and eight acts of the Manks legislature, prior to the accession of the Atholl family to the kingdom. As this volume contained much curious information, Mr. Train forwarded

¹ This is the gentleman to whom the fourth canto of *Marmion* is addressed. In *Lockhart's Life* (vol. III, cap. II.) he is stated to have been one of Scott's most intimate friends.

² In September, 1841, Mr. Train also accompanied Mr. Clarkson Stanfield, R.A., along the shores of Galloway, while that eminent artist was taking views to illustrate the Abbotsford edition of the *Weaverley Novels*, then preparing for publication by Mr. Cadell, of Edinburgh.

a transcript of it to Abbotsford, together with several Manks traditions, and extracts from various records kept of the trial and death of Christian. Mr. Train's studies and researches, in compiling the history to which this memoir is prefixed, are best stated by himself in the introduction. About the same period, he forwarded a curious brass visor, found in a morass at Torrs, in the parish of Kelton. From the odd form of this antique, having horns projecting from the place where the eyeholes should have been, and which turned back like those of a goat, it was supposed to be the head-mask of a mummer, probably belonging to the neighbouring Castle of Threave.¹

In reply to various traditionary gleanings communicated about the same time, Sir Walter writes—"Your account of the three Great Punch Bowls is very entertaining, and your historical sketch of the *Siller Guns* kept at Dumfries and Kirkcudbright, as illustrative of the ancient custom of weapon-shaving, shows more research, and is more interesting, than Mayne's poem on the one kept at Dumfries; but I cannot see a peg to hang that communication on, and am sorry I cannot now find a corner for your ancient *protege*, *Mons Meg*, of loud reputation. You know I have already spoken of her pedigree; but fortunately I have not done so in a positive manner, as you have traced her propinquity so clearly, as henceforth to set all conjecture aside."²

That Sir Walter Scott, from the first, attached much importance to Mr. Train's communications, is now evinced by the fact of his having requested, shortly after the commencement of their correspondence, that all letters should be written on large post paper. Mr. Train did not know the baronet's object in making this request, until accidentally explained in a letter from J. G. Lockhart, esq., his literary executor, dated Oct. 1, 1833. Mr. Lockhart says—"Your MS. volume, though dated July the 1st, only reached me yesterday. I have perused it with great interest, and shall avail myself of it largely, in drawing up the narrative of your great and dear friend's life, and then return it carefully to your hands. I have now by me *three volumes of your MS. communications* to Sir Walter, which I found bound in one of his cabinets. I presume I am at liberty to make use of them also, and will do so unless you forbid me. The whole story of your connection is most honourable to you, and in no account of Sir Walter can your name ever fail to occupy a distinguished place. * * * Should it ever be, which I fear is not very likely, within the power of any of his family to render any service to you or yours, I am sure it would afford us much satisfaction to do so."

The correspondence which had been so long carried on between Sir

¹ *History of Galloway*, vol. ii, pp. 76, 71. See also an account of this relic in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, "Parish of Kelton," by the Reverend Samuel Cowan.

² See "Incidental Notices of Threave Castle and Mons Meg," in *History of Galloway*, vol. i, appendix. For an account of Mr. Train's other communications, see appendix to this Memoir.

Walter Scott and Mr. Train, was at length drawing to a close ; but at no period had it been more interesting or voluminous than within the last two or three years of the baronet's death. The edition of the novels with notes, already alluded to, was undertaken in 1829 ; and from that period, until its completion, Mr. Train was zealous in his service. His professional duties, however, stood greatly in the way, and some of his contributions did not reach Abbotsford in time for the press. Among these were interesting sketches of Andrew Gemmell, alias Edie Ochiltree, and of Marshall, King of the Randies. Both of these characters were well known in Galloway. Gemmell was twenty years a soldier, twenty a garrison *foggie*, and twenty a wandering mendicant. He was a native of Old Cumnock, in Ayrshire, where many of his descendants yet reside. Mr. Train gives the history of one of them.*

The last of Mr. Train's communications was carried to Abbotsford by the compiler of the present narrative, who was then in his sixteenth year, while on a visit to a friend in Kelso. I can never fail to remember that visit, brightened as it was by the kindness of the gifted minstrel in his own abode, and enhanced by the valuable words of fatherly advice which fell from his lips, when he learned that I was about to quit school to enter on the cares of a business life. Alas ! soon after this, that minstrel, with an overwrought and broken constitution, left his homestead for the continent on his memorable tour of health ; and Mr. Train had not an opportunity of paying a last tribute of respect to his distinguished friend, which admiration for his genius, and gratitude for his kindness, alike prompted him to offer.

The death of Sir Walter Scott, as may well be imagined, was an event regretted by no one more deeply than Mr. Train. With the author of *Waverley* was removed the great stimulus which had urged him on in his antiquarian and traditional researches. He felt indeed a pleasure in such labours on their own account, and he has since continued to prosecute them, though with less relish than he experienced while contributing to the store-house of antiquities at Abbotsford. But although his antiquarian gleanings were made chiefly with this aim, Mr. Train, nevertheless, from time to time, furnished literary contributions to various works of the day. In 1820, he contributed to the *Ayr and Wigtonshire Courier*, then a highly popular periodical, a "Chronological Account of the Ancient Castle of Ayr," and several poetical pieces. In the *Dumfries Courier*, edited by his excellent and much respected friend John M'Diarmid, esquire, appeared several of his poetic effusions ; and subsequently in the *Glasgow Magazine*, conducted by his esteemed friend William Bennett, esquire, now of Duddingston, in the County of Edinburgh, many of his sketches appeared, both in prose and verse. To his friend, Mr. Robert

* Appendix, Note iv, "Sketch of Andrew Gemmell."

Chambers, he sent the lively piece entitled "Mysie and the Minister," which appeared in the thirtieth number of the *Edinburgh Journal*, and has since made several gleanings in Galloway for a new edition of his popular *Rhymes of Scotland*, about to be published. More recently, Mr. Train was urged to render his assistance to a *History of Galloway*, edited by the Rev. William Mackenzie and published by Mr. John Nicholson, bookseller, Kirkcudbright. A quarter of a century had elapsed since he abandoned the idea of undertaking a similar task in conjunction with his highly talented friend, Captain Dennistoun, of Creetown, as previously stated, and he now zealously lent his aid in promoting the completion of this work.¹ Besides this, Mr. Train has completed in MS. a very curious and interesting history, "from first to last," of a religious set well known in the south of Scotland by the name of "The Buchanites."

In his retreat on the banks of the Carlinwark Loch, Mr. Train continues to keep up an occasional correspondence with a wide circle of literary friends, the oldest of whom, now in the land of the living, is the Rev. Hamilton Paul, minister of the parish of Broughton, in Peeblesshire, to whose patronage Mr. Train ascribes much of the success of several of his early productions. The letters of his old and highly valued friend, William Dobie, esquire, of Grangevale, near Beith, in Mr. Train's possession, extend over a period of upwards of thirty years, and are both numerous and interesting. The talented author of the *Contemporaries of Burns*, from whose account I have arranged so much of the present *Memoir*, says:—"In glancing back over this imperfect sketch, we are surprised how, amid the constant exercise of harassing professional duty, Mr. Train could devote so much leisure and means to antiquarian inquiries, some of them, as we have seen, both important and difficult. He must have been indefatigable in his labours and frugal in his expenditure. The acquisition of wealth was no object to him; and the manner in which his time and talents were devoted to the service of others, argues the disinterested kindness of his disposition. The vast fund of material, if published by himself, would have added immeasurably to his fame as well as fortune."²

The following passages from the collective edition—1829-1833—of *Sir Walter Scott's Works* and from *Mr. Lockhart's Life of his Illustrious Father-in-law*, edition 1837, 1838, fully bear out this statement.*

¹ See Mr. Mackenzie's preface to the *History of Galloway*.

² *Contemporaries of Burns and the more Recent Poets of Ayrshire*, Edinburgh, edition 1840, p. 300.

* Appendix, Note v, "Acknowledgments by Sir Walter Scott."

APPENDIX TO MEMOIR.

NOTE I.—PAGE 3.

ELCINE DE AGGART.

“ Lang was she kent on Carrick shore,
 For mony a beast to dead she shot,
 And perished mony a bonnie boat.”
 Burns.

These stanzas are founded on a tradition still remembered in Ayrshire. When the Spaniards, in the year 1588, attempted to invade England, the ships which escaped the vigilance of Lord Howard and Sir Francis Drake, were overtaken by a violent hurricane; and, as is well known, were wrecked among the rocks of the Hebrides, or on the western shores of Scotland. When some of them appeared first in the Clyde, it is reported that Elcine de Aggart, an old lady, who was honoured in Carrick with the title of witch, and who, it would appear, made no scruple in turning her skill in the black art to the advantage of her country in the hour of danger, seated herself upon a promontory, holding a ball of blue yarn in one of her hands, which may truly be called the thread of Fate, as by a mysterious application of it, she was understood to have absolute control over the destiny of mortals, either individually or collectively, as she pleased. She had likewise, in common with other members of the same order, complete power over the elements; so that, opposed to such a powerful opponent, it was impossible for the invaders to escape irretrievable destruction.

As the vessel bore up the channel, the tempest increased, and the weird sister sung as follows:

“ Why gallops the palfrey with lady Dunure?
 Who takes away Turnberry’s kine from the shore?
 Go tell it in Carrick, and tell it in Kyle,
 Although the proud Dons are now passing the Moil,
 On this magic clue,
 That in Fairyland grew,
 Old Elcine de Aggart has taken in hand,
 To wind up their lives ere they win to our strand.

That heaven may favour this grand armament,
 Against our poor heretic islanders sent;
 From altars a thousand, though frankincense fly,
 Though ten thousand chapel-bells peal in the sky,
 By this mystic clue,
 Made in Elfsand when new,
 Old Elcine de Aggart will all countermand,
 And wind up their lives ere they win to our strand.

They bring with them nobles our castles to fill;
 They bring with them ploughshares our manors to till;
 They likewise bring fetters our barons to bind,
 Or any whom they may refractory find;
 But this mighty clue,
 Of the indigo hue,
 Which few, like de Aggart, could e’er understand,
 Will baffle their hopes ere they win to our strand.

1 The Cape of Cantyre is thus named.

Was ever the sprites of the wind seen to lower,
 So dark o'er the Clyde, as in this fatal hour !
 Rejoice ev'ry one may, to see the waves now
 Each ship passing o'er from the poop to the bow.
 With this magic clue,
 That in Fairyland grew,
 Old Elcine de Aggart has wound to an end
 Their thread of existence, though far from the strand.

I sigh for their dames, who may now take the veil ;
 For babes who the loss of their sires may bewail ;
 But while the great death-bell of Toledo tolls,
 And friars unceasingly pray for their souls,
 With this mystic clue,
 Made when Eliland was new,
 Who will not give praise, in her own native land,
 To Elcine de Aggart for guarding the strand ?

Come back on your palfrey my Lady Denure,
 Go bring back old Taraberry's kine to the shore ;
 And tell it you may, over Carrick and Kyle,
 The last ship has sunk by our good Lady Isle.
 And while such a clue,
 Of the indigo hue,
 Old Elcine de Aggart has at her command,
 A foreign foe never shall come to our strand."

—*Strains of the Mountain Muse*, pp. 109, 112.

NOTE II.—PAGE 4.

GRIERSON OF LAGG.

In the persecution that succeeded the restoration of Charles the Second, who vainly hoped, under the less offensive garb of prelacy, to restore the Catholic religion to its pristine splendour in this country, the hero of the foregoing poem (Sir Archibald) was no inferior actor. Many stories similar to those related of him are told of the most obnoxious of the persecutors, from which I have selected the following, recorded of the famous Grierson of Lagg, who, although represented by his contemporaries as having acted like a demon while upon earth, posterity allows to have performed one act of justice after his decease.

A man in the parish of New Abbey, who had the lease of a farm from the Laird of Lagg, called on him one day to pay a considerable arrear of rent which had been due; Mr. Grierson took the money, but not being able to write a receipt, desired the farmer to call next day, and he should have it; but ere the sun rose again he had breathed his last. When the funeral was over, the poor man waited on the young laird, and simply stated the transaction with his father. The young gentleman very plausibly informed him that, should he admit of such verbal declarations in lieu of vouchers, he might subject himself to impositions which the whole of his property could not cover; and although he doubted not but that he had spoken truth, yet without payment was made immediately, he would seek redress by legal measures. As the poor man was returning home very disconsolate, a person came up with him in a wood through which he had to pass. They travelled on in silence for some time, when the stranger observed that he appeared to be very low-spirited, and begged that he would inform him of the cause, as he might perhaps have it in his power to serve him. The farmer replied, that when he imagined he was in low spirits he was right; but that he was afraid no human aid could be of any service to him: but to gratify him, he would acquaint him with the whole cause of his melancholy; then told him his story, as before stated. The stranger observed that the case was a very singular one, but not so hopeless as he imagined, and said, that if he would go with him a small distance into the wood, he thought something might be done that

would in a great measure obviate his present difficulty. It being near midnight, and very dark, the farmer started at the proposal, and drew back, when his unknown companion assured him he had nothing to fear, and that, if he followed him, he would re-conduct him to the place where they then stood, in a very short time.

The farmer began to consider, that as matters then stood with him, no change could possibly be for the worse, and declared himself ready to proceed. His guide then dashed into the wood, with the mazes of which he seemed to be well acquainted. They soon came to the gate of a majestic castle, which was opened to them by a man who had been many years porter to the Laird of Lagg, but who had been dead several years. In the hall sat Patie Birnie, the famous fiddler of Kinghorn, tuning his violin, in order to play after supper to a large company, who were assembled in an upper apartment of the castle. As the farmer followed his guide, he saw several ladies and gentlemen, with whom he had been formerly acquainted, all of whom had taken a very active part in the persecution; at last he entered a room, where, to his utter astonishment, he saw Lagg seated at a table, with a large bundle of papers before him, and apparently busied in arranging them. His guide then addressed Lagg, and informed him that this was the person he had sent him for; upon which the Laird wrote a receipt for the money he had received on the day of his death, and gave it to the farmer, telling him he had only to go next day and present it to his heir, and inform him that he had received it when he made payment, but that it had escaped his memory. The farmer bowed, and returned with his guide, who soon placed him on his road, wished him good night, and left him. The man went home in a state of mind not easily to be described; and next morning, when reflecting on the whole transaction of the preceding evening, considered it as a hideous phantasm of the brain, till, putting his hand into his pocket, he drew out a receipt, fairly written in the hand of his deceased landlord. His joy then knew no bounds; he instantly set off, and presented his voucher, which was received upon telling his story as directed. It only remains to be stated, that although the most diligent search was made, no castle could be discovered in the wood; nor had the oldest inhabitant of the neighbourhood ever heard of a house being either in the forest or in its purlieu, except the solitary cottage of a peasant.

Sir Walter, in one of his notes on *Hedgerumliet*, accounting for the story told by the blind fiddler, says, "I have heard in my youth some such wild tale as that placed in the mouth of the blind fiddler, of which I think the hero was Sir Robert Grierson of Lagg, the famous persecutor." But as the above story was given to Mr. Train by his friend Captain Denalston, it is more than probable that Sir Walter had confounded what he read eighteen years before with the recollection of tales told him in his youth.

NOTE III.—PAGE 15.

IMAGE OF ST. FLANNING.

"When the image," says Mr. Train, "disappeared from the public eye at the Reformation it was taken secretly into the possession of a poor family in the neighbourhood, who in a short time, by frugal industry, became more wealthy than any of their neighbours, but it being at last discovered that they were in possession of the image of the Irish Saint, the improvement in their circumstances was wholly ascribed to the tutelary protection of St. Flanning.

"The desire of wealth soon gained so great an ascendancy over religious tenets, that the most stern reformers in the barony claimed as their right to take the image of the Saint at certain periods, or on particular occasions, into their possession; till at length the idol became the joint property of all the people of the community; but out of the bounds of the barony nothing could tempt them to allow it to be taken even a single step.

"The peasants of the surrounding country imagined that the people of Saint Flanning were the happiest individuals in the universe. They thought they saw their sheep fatter than those of any other district; their women and children more healthy; and their property increase more rapidly—all which was ascribed to the particular care the Saint had taken of them for preserving his image after almost every other of a similar description in the country had been destroyed.

"These envious neighbours had often attempted to steal away the image, but without success, till about a year ago¹ they hired two ruffians, who were little known in that part of the country, to take it out of the house of an old woman who had it carefully wrapt up in her intended winding-sheet; after which they spread a rumour that these fellows, being smugglers, had burnt the Saint under a whisky still in Faanyside Moor, but the people of Saint Flanning firmly believe that the image is still in the neighbourhood, and are strengthened in their opinion, as they say, by the thriving appearance of the supposed possessors of the venerable relic."—See *Waverley Novels*, vol. xlv, p. 371.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 22.

SKETCH OF ANDREW GEMMELL.

One of the most intimate friends of my early days was Andrew Gemmell, a grandson of Andrew the soldier. The grandson, my friend, was a farm-servant till the year 1799, when he was ballotted to serve in the Ayrshire Militia, in which corps he acted as servant to Dr. Colquhoun till 1803, when the regiment was disembodied. The doctor then took him to pound drugs in his father's shop in Greenock, where, having to examine the sailors enlisted into the navy, he became acquainted with Captain Tattam, who then commanded the press ship stationed in the Clyde. The *Swifter* gun-brig being ordered to the West India station, and not having a surgeon's mate, Captain Tattam got Gemmell appointed to that situation. On the death of the surgeon, which happened a few weeks after sailing, his mate succeeded him.² In this situation he became such a favourite with Sir Edward Pellew, afterwards Lord Exmouth, who then commanded the fleet on that station, that when Sir Edward received the command of the Texel Fleet, he took Gemmell with him to the Mediterranean as chief surgeon of the fleet. I have a letter before me, dated on board his majesty's ship *Caledonia*, off Minorca, 18th December, 1813, in which he says, "upwards of twenty noblemen, or noblemen's sons, sit at the admiral's table, whenever the weather will permit them to come from the various ships of the fleet. In almost every dispute that arises amongst them, I am referred to, and my decision generally gives satisfaction." Thus, without any regular education, rose the grandson of Andrew Gemmell to the head of the medical department, and to be the intimate friend of Lord Exmouth for nearly fifteen years. I kept up a regular correspondence with him till he went to the coast of America in 1825. He died in London in 1839.

NOTE V.—PAGE 23.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS BY SIR WALTER SCOTT.

CHRONICLES OF THE CANONGATE.

"I am bound, in particular, to acknowledge the kindness of Mr. Joseph Train, supervisor of excise at Dumfries, to whose unwearied industry I have been indebted for many curious traditions and points of antiquarian interest. It was Mr. Train who brought to my recollection *Old Mortality*."—*Waverley Novels*, vol. xii. pp. 13, 14.

OLD MORTALITY.

"The remarkable figure and occupation of this ancient pilgrim was recalled to my memory by an account transmitted by my friend Mr. Joseph Train, supervisor of excise at Dumfries, to whom I owe many obligations of a similar nature. . . . While these sheets were passing through the press, I received the following communication from Mr. Train."—*Waverley Novels*, vol. ix. p. 237.

¹ Written in 1823.

² When only a short time there he got leave to return to Britain, being in bad health; but he attended the College in London, received his degree as M.D., and returned to his station.

GUY MANNERING.

"A person well known by the name of Buckharte, from having been a noted smuggler of that article, and also by that of Bogle-Bush, the place of his residence, assured my kind informant, Mr. Train, that he had frequently seen upwards of two hundred Lingtow-men assemble at one time, and go off into the interior of the country, fully laden with contraband goods." [Then follow the stories communicated by Mr. Train relative to Hawkins the Dutch skipper, who was the prototype of Dirk Halterick, and of Willie Marshal, the Gallovidian tinker.]—*Waverley Novels*, vol. iv. pp. 374, 375, 376, 377.

HEART OF MID-LOTHIAN.

"The following account, furnished by the persevering kindness of Mr. Train, contains all that can probably now be known of her history, though many, among whom is the author, may remember having heard of *Feeble Fannie* in the days of their youth."—*Waverley Novels*, vol. xiii. p. 36.

FEVERIL OF THE PEAK.

"About the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Earl of Derby, being a fiery young chief, fond of war and honour, made a furious inroad with all his forces into the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and committed great ravages, still remembered in Manks song. Mr. Train, with his usual kindness, sent me the following literal translation of the verses."—*Waverley Novels*, vol. xxix, pp. 174, 175.

SURGEON'S DAUGHTER.

The following paragraph was written immediately before Sir Walter's last departure for the continent. "The author has nothing to say now in reference to this novel, but that the principal incident on which it turns, was narrated to him one morning at breakfast by his worthy friend Mr. Train, of Castle-Douglas, in Galloway, whose kind assistance he has so often had occasion to acknowledge in the course of these prefaces."—*Waverley Novels*, vol. xlviii. p. 150.

THE LORD OF THE ISLES.

"The following are the words of an ingenious correspondent, to whom I am obliged for much information"—[communication here inserted at length]—"Letter from Mr. Joseph Train, of Newton Stewart, author of an ingenious collection of poems, illustrative of many ancient traditions in Galloway and Ayrshire. Edinburgh, 1814." ["Mr. Train made a journey into Ayrshire at Sir Walter Scott's request, on purpose to collect accurate information for the notes to this poem; and the reader will find more of the fruits of his labours in the appendix, note K. This is the same gentleman whose friendly assistance is so often acknowledged in the notes and introductions of the *Waverley Novels*."]—*Note by the Editor*, pp. 196, 197.

"The same obliging correspondent, whom I have quoted in the preceding note, gives me the following account of the present state of the ruins of Turnberry."—p. 199.

"It is generally known that Bruce, in consequence of his distresses after the battle of Methven, was affected by a scorbutic disorder, which was called a leprosy. It is said he experienced benefit from the use of a medicinal spring, about a mile north of the town of Ayr, called from that circumstance King's Ease.¹ The following is the tradition of the country, collected by Mr. Train."

LOCKHART'S LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT.

VOL. III.

Pp. 306, 307,—Mr. Lockhart describes the circumstance of Mr. Train's becoming acquainted with Sir Walter.

P. 308,—Refers to Mr. Train's contributions to the museum at Abbotsford.

P. 309,—Mr. Train's anecdotes concerning the Galloway Gipsies, and the local story of the Astrologer, on which Sir Walter founded the novel of *Guy Mannering*.

P. 310,—Describes the information with which Mr. Train furnished Sir Walter when he was about to compose the *Lord of the Isles*.

Pp. 315, 316,—Farther information respecting the *Lord of the Isles* and the Galloway Astrologer.

P. 405,—Ballad of the Astrologer on which *Guy Mannering* is founded.

¹ Sir Walter Scott had mis-read Mr. Train's MS., which gave not *King's Ease*, but *King's Case*, i.e. *Casa Regia*, the name of the royal foundation described below. Mr. Train's kindness enables the editor to make this correction, 1833.—*Note by the Editor*.—*Sir Walter Scott's Poetical Works*, vol. x, p. 339.

VOL. IV.

P. 37,—Mr. Train's communications made use of in the *Tales of my Landlord*.

P. 38,—Describes Mr. Train's first interview with Sir Walter, after which Mr. Lockhart says—"To this intercourse with Mr. Train we owe the whole machinery of the *Tales of my Landlord*, as well as the adoption of *Claverhouse's* period for the scene of some of its first actions. I think it highly probable that we owe a farther obligation to the worthy supervisor's presentation of *Rob Roy's* speeches."

P. 53,—Refers to the story of the *Baron of Plunkton*, on which the melodrama of the *Doom of Devorgoil* is founded. An outline of this story is given in a letter addressed to Daniel Terry, commencing p. 53.

VOL. V.

Pp. 526, 527,—Description of the chair which Mr. Train presented to Sir Walter Scott.

VOL. VII.

P. 31,—Referring to the twenty persons who were in the secret of the *Waverley Novels*, previous to the catastrophe of 1836, Mr. Lockhart says—"I am by no means sure that I can give a correct list, but, in addition to the members of Sir Walter's own family, there were Constable, Cadell, the two Ballantynes, Terry, Laidlaw, Mr. Train, Charles Duke of Buccleuch," &c.

ADDITIONAL NOTE BY MR. LOCKHART.

"Since the death of Sir Walter Scott, the public have received many additional details concerning the communications that passed, while the *Waverley Novels* were in progress, between their author and his devoted friend Mr. Joseph Train, supervisor of excise at Castle Douglas, in Galloway. Not the least curious of these particulars connects itself with the origin of *Guy Mannering*. Shortly after the publication of *Waverley*, as stated in the *Life of Scott*, Mr. Train forwarded to Abbotsford a MS. collection of anecdotes relating to the Galloway gipsies, together with (in Mr. Train's own words), 'a local story of an astrologer, who, calling at a farm house at the minute when the good wife was in travail, had, it is said, predicted the future fortunes of the child, almost in the words placed in the mouth of John Mac Kinley, in the introduction to *Guy Mannering*.'"—*Abbotsford Edition of the Waverley Novels*, vol. i, p. 377.



INTRODUCTION.

A DISTINCT historical relation of the many revolutions of which the Isle of Man has been the theatre, and of its civil and ecclesiastical establishments in olden times, would, in the opinion of an eminent writer of the last century, be "a curious, entertaining, and instructive work;"¹ but its early history is involved in darkness,² "and to illustrate it would require much time and trouble."³

In a pursuit so publicly abandoned by the indefatigable Lord Hails and by Toland, the learned antiquary, Macculloch and other eminent writers deemed further inquiry hopeless.⁴ But Sir Walter Scott entertained a different opinion. In 1810, he called the attention of his brother Thomas, receiver-general of the insular customs,⁵ towards writing a history of the Isle of Man;⁶ but fortuitous circumstances occurred which prevented the execution of that design. At a subsequent period, Sir Walter strongly directed my views to the same subject, with the

¹ *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, Dublin edition, 1775, vol. ii, p. 530.

² *Toland's History of the Druids*, London, 1726, p. 64.

³ *Lord Hails' Annals of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1772. vol. i, p. 48.

⁴ *Description of Western Isles of Scotland*, London, 1824, vol. iii, p. 29.

⁵ *Quayle's General View of Agriculture in the Isle of Man*, London edition, p. 146.

⁶ *Lockhart's Memoir of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, edition 1837, 1838, vol. ii, chap. ix. Thomas Scott, was "now engaged in the peaceful occupation of collecting materials for a history of the Isle of Man, to which his brother had strongly directed his views."

most friendly assurance that he would render me any assistance which I might require in prosecuting the undertaking. He at the same time made me a present of an old work on the subject, and placed his valuable library at my service, in following out the inquiry necessary to the accomplishment of the work.

I assented—but my professional duty as supervisor over an extensive district occupied my time so exclusively, that ere I had it in my power to avail myself of the assistance of my illustrious friend, he was no more. On the occurrence of that mournful event, my gleanings were in a great measure laid aside, nor was it until I had at my own solicitation been placed on what is called the “Retired Revenue List,” that in order to while away my leisure hours, I assumed the task of arranging the materials which I had previously collected. But I am aware how imperfectly this has been accomplished, when compared with what the work would have been, had it been subjected to the pruning hand of the great master under whose auspices it was commenced.

Amid the changes which took place in the affairs of the tiny monarchy of Man, from the tenth down to the fifteenth century, it is highly probable that the land was held only by the power of the sword, or by *charter horns*¹ or charter

¹ From a period prior to the Norman conquest, it was customary to transfer inheritances solely by the gift of some implement which was known to have belonged to the grantor. Ingulph, abbot of Croyland, states that in the conqueror's time, the implements usually given in lieu of a charter were the *sword, helmet, or horn* of the lord or donor. Hence originated the charter horns, so frequently mentioned by old writers. The horn now preserved in the vestry of the church of York, was given by Ulphus, “in token of his bestowing on God and St. Peter all his lands and tenements.” The pusey horn was given by King Canute, as a charter for the village of the same name. “It was by the gift of a horn from Henry II of England, in 1177, that the Earl of Ormond held his lands in Ireland.” Charter stones were equally

stones, and that the records of the transactions during that time, were neither numerous nor accurately kept. That some valuable records, however, have been lost, may be reasonably supposed. Kissack O'Hutcheon, sector of Kells, was drowned on his voyage to Ireland, with the Cabhier or "Book of the Battles,"¹ and other manuscripts, which, had they been preserved, would probably have done much to elucidate the history of the Hebrides at large.

Other misfortunes are said to have befallen the archives of the Island at a subsequent period. Reginald, who was slain by the knight Ivar, A.D. 1249, left a daughter named Mary, who, to escape the troubles in Man which followed the death of her father, was secretly conveyed by her friends to England, "with all the public deeds and charters of the Island."² By another author, it is stated that the most ancient records of the Island were removed in 1292 to Drontheim, once the capital of Norway, by Maude, a princess of the ancient race, where they were subsequently destroyed by fire, and that the few records which remained in the Island at the commencement of the civil wars, were carried away by Charlotte, countess of Derby.³

In confirmation of the records of the Island having been carried to Norway, Waldron adds, that a Mr. Stevenson, an eminent merchant of Dublin, offered the bishop of

common. King Robert Bruce "gave a blue stone as a charter of the Loper's Establishment of King's Case, near the town of Ayr." The battle for the charter stone of Old Daily, in Carricks, is recorded by Sir Walter Scott. The charter stone of Dabry, in Galloway, is still carefully preserved; and the charter stone of Inverness is kept at the market-place of that town, hooped with iron. "While the famous marble chair was allowed to remain at Scoon, it was considered as the charter stone of Scotland."

¹ *Annals of Ulster; Maclean's Historical Account of Iona*, p. 74. Whether it is Kells in Galloway that is here alluded to, or Kells in East Meath, is uncertain.

² *Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 535.

³ *Johnstone's Jurisprudence of the Isle of Man*, Edinburgh, 1811, p. 5.

Drontheim a large sum of money for those documents, with a view of presenting them to the inhabitants of the Isle of Man; but the bishop would not part with them on any terms.¹ If the ancient charters and records of the kingdom of the Isles, of which Man was the capital, were kept at Iona, as asserted by Dr. Jamieson,² and were conveyed from thence to Aberdeen, about the year 1500, in order to be examined by Hector Boetius, the celebrated Scottish historian, they consequently could not have been carried away by the princess Mande in 1292, or by the Norwegians, who were finally expelled from the Isles upwards of two centuries before the time mentioned by Dr. Jamieson. We are left, therefore, in doubt, as to any such documents ever having been deposited at Drontheim.

The ancient records and charters of Galloway too, according to popular complaint, were either carried off or destroyed by the Douglasses, when lords of that province. Perhaps it would be more to the purpose in both instances, to suppose that there was little either to carry away or destroy.³ The great proprietors of the Western Highlands of Scotland, and of the *Out-Isles*, enjoyed their lands allodially under their Gaelic customs, until David II, in order to secure their allegiance, obliged them to take charters from him. Sir John Stanley, nearly a century afterwards, was the first to call upon the Manks for a similar purpose; and from the opposition which was raised to that measure, it may be confidently inferred that the fiefs of the ancient kingdom of the Isles were similar throughout.⁴

¹ *Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, London, 1731, p. 96.

² *Jamieson's Historical Account of the Ancient Caledonians*, cap. xiv.

³ *Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 379.

⁴ *Fordun*, lxi, cap. xxxiv; *Hail's Annals*, vol. ii, p. 266.

There are no landrights, such as precepts of seisin, procuratories of resignation, or any records of the proceedings of either the civil¹ or ecclesiastical councils of the Island to be found, anterior to the commencement of the reign of the Stanley family; and the oldest parochial register is that of Ballaugh, which commences in 1598. Perhaps the oldest document relating to the Island now extant, is an account of the ancient church lands, found by the Rev. James Johnstone, chaplain to the British envoy at the court of Denmark, in 1786, in the library of the king of Denmark, and published by him in his work entitled *Celto Normanicæ*.²

A *Chronicle of the Kings of Man*, from A.D. 1066, to A.D. 1266, was published by Camden in 1586, and is supposed by that author to have been written by the monks of Rushen.³ But the ignorance manifested in that work, even of events which happened in Man, and which are circumstantially and clearly narrated in the *Norse Sagas*, and in the *Irish Annals*, induces the editor of the *Celto Normanicæ* to infer that the *Chronicles of the Kings of Man* is of no northern origin.

Johnston⁴ has detected several palpable errors in the dates of events in the *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*; but

¹ Even in Britain there is scarcely a landright to be found of a more ancient date than 1300. A lease taken by Chancer the poet, is one of the oldest upon record. It is dated on Christmas day, 1399. This document is a lease of a garden adjoining St. Mary's Chapel, London, from Robert Hermodesworth, chaplain, in favour of Geoffry Chancer, for fifty-three years, at a yearly rent of fifty-three shillings and fourpence, in case the tenant should live so long, with power to distrain for a fortnight's arrears.—*Borthwick's British Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1776, p. 24.

² See vol. ii, p. 62, *Ancient Limitation of Church Lands*.

³ Mr. Gregory was author of the *History of the Western Islands and Isles of Scotland* from 1493 to 1625, with a brief sketch from A.D. 80 to 1493, 8vo., Edinburgh, 1836.

⁴ Mr. Gough, in his edition of *Camden*, three vols. folio, 1789, prefers Mr. Camden's copy of the *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, to that published in 1787 by

many others escaped his notice, which were first pointed out to me by the late eminent antiquary, Donald Gregory, secretary to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and by the kindness of William Forbes Skene, Esquire, his successor in that office, who, in the course of collecting materials for his valuable work entitled *The Highlanders of Scotland*,¹ has become, perhaps, more conversant with ancient Irish, and Scandinavian literature, than any other writer of the present day. I have been enabled to give in the course of this history, from documents of unquestionable authority, a more correct chronology of the kings of Man, than has hitherto appeared, particularly from the accession of Goddard Crovan to the death of Godred, the son of Olave Kleining.

There appears, however, some reason to apprehend, that prior to the conquest of Goddard Crovan, the succession of the Danish Vikingr in the sovereignty of Man, is not yet exactly known. There is preserved in the Castle of Dunvegan, in Skye, a drinking cup of the most ancient and curious workmanship. Around the edge is a legend, perfectly legible in Saxon black letter, which runs thus:—

“Ufo : Johis : Mich : || Magn : Principis : De : Ir : Manae :
 Mich : || Liahia : Magryneil : || et spat : De : Jhu : Da : || Clea :
 Hloru : Opa : || Fecit : Ano : Bi : Ir : || 93o : Onfli : Oimi : ||”

Translated thus :

“Ufo, the son of John, the son of Magnus, Prince of the land of Mann, the grandson of Liahia Macgryneil ; and he trusts in the Lord Jesus, that mercy will be shown unto him on account of their works. Oneil Oimi made this in the year of our Lord 993.”

Mr. Johnstone, from a fine old MS. on vellum in the Cottonian library, marked Julius A. VII, 3, because in the former the dates are all right in the original, whereas in the latter they are made so by the editor in his margin.—*Gough's Camden*, vol. iii, p. 705.

¹ Published by Murray, London, 1836.

This legend does not agree with history.¹ I am not aware of their having been a Magnus, prince of Man, before Magnus Barefoot, and he did not arrive in Man for a century after the date of the cup. Magnus had four sons, and as many grandsons; but the name of John, or of Ufo, does not appear in the list.² It is thus evident that he is not the Magnus referred to on the cup; and Magnus II did not ascend the throne of Man till 1252. I am more inclined to believe that the history of the Isles is defective, than that the cup is not what the legend imports it to be. But as this is merely a matter of opinion, I must leave it to some future antiquary to decide upon a more certain basis.

I found another puzzle in a document of considerable antiquity, descriptive of the historical transactions of the ancient inhabitants of Man—a metrical account of the Island, written in Manks, from the earliest period to the landing of Thomas, Earl of Derby in the Island, which the author appears to have witnessed.³ This was in striving to ascertain the true meaning of the words “Quinney and Quayle,” which occur in the first line of the twenty-fifth verse of that document. According to

¹ This very curious piece of antiquity is nine inches inside depth, and ten and a half inches outside, the extreme measure over the lips being four inches and a half. It is made of wood, most curiously wrought and embossed with silver work which projects from the vessel. The family tradition bears that it was the property of Neil Ghlune-dhu or Blacknee. But who this Neil was no one pretends to say.—Sir Walter Scott's *Lord of the Isles*, note to canto ii. It is rather singular that neither Sir Walter Scott nor the possessor of the ancient cup, Mac. Leod, of Mac. Leod, the chief of an ancient and powerful clan, should not have been aware that Neil Ghlunedbh was king of Ireland, and was slain near Dublin fighting against the Danes.—See *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, edition 1705, p. 61; and *O'Donovan's Translation of the Annals of the Four Masters*.

² *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, 1736, folio, table 590.

³ *Literal Translation of the Metrical History of the Isle of Man*—see appendix to chapter ii, note i, p. 50.

the Rev. J. E. Harrison, vicar of Jurby, one of the best Manks scholars of the age, but whose opinion I have only learnt since this article was in type, these words have not been translated by Mr. Curphey; otherwise, that line should have been rendered :—

“ Then came the House of Keys and then came courts.”

Quinney being an old Manks name for the House of Keys, and Quayle for courts.

This little work remained upwards of three centuries in manuscript; and it was not until after it fell into my possession that it was translated into English on my account, by Mr. Thomas Curphey, of Kirk Braddan. It contains information, so far as I am aware, not to be found elsewhere.

I caused, also, about three hundred proverbs to be translated from the Manks language into English, expecting to discover some specimens of ancient aphoristic wisdom relating either to historical incident, local customs, or sententious maxims; but the Islanders seem to have no indigenous aphorisms or apothegms that are not also the common property of other countries.

In imitation of the practice of the Druids, the laws of the Island were locked up in the breasts of the Deemsters, until, by command of Sir John Stanley, they were promulgated on the Tynwald Hill in 1417, after which they continued to be committed to writing. About the end of the seventeenth century, the statute laws and ancient ordinances of the Island were transcribed from the *liber placitorum*, *liber scaccarii*, *liber cancellarius*, book of customary law, and other original records preserved in the Castle of Rushen, and from the episcopal registers of the diocese, in the possession of the archbishop of York, by

John Parr, one of the deemsters of the Island, from 1695 to 1712, alphabetically arranged for his private convenience as a judge. This manuscript volume in folio, was presented in the year 1745, by a Mr. William Curphey to Matthias Christian, Esq., member of the House of Keys, and subsequently became the property of Mr. Alexander M'Clure, who was comptroller at Peel, from 1811 to 1814. Mr. M'Clure was a native of Galloway, and after his death the Parr manuscript fell into the hands of David Niven, Esq., one of the magistrates of the burgh of Kirkcudbright, from whom I received this invaluable record in the year 1830.

That the manners and customs of the people of the Isle of Man were different from all others in Europe, is manifested in the peculiarities of their ancient laws,¹ is abundantly evident from this singular volume.

A small abridgement of the insular laws was for the first time printed in the year 1792, and in 1797 "an attempt was made to publish the statutes at large, but this work was found to be so imperfect and mutilated" that in 1819 what was supposed to be a complete edition of the *Lex Scripta* of the Island was published at Douglas, by the authority and under the patronage of the Governor, Council, and House of Keys.² In collating this, however, with the transcript of the ancient laws, made by Deemster Parr, I find the authorised edition very defective, many of the old statutes being wholly omitted and others given only in a mutilated form. Where I have found such to be the case, I have, in the course of the following sheets, frequently quoted from or referred to the manuscript

¹ *Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, London, 1731, p. 160.

² See the dedication of Mr. Jefferson, the editor and publisher of the *Lex Scripta* of the Isle of Man, to John, Duke of Atholl, p. 3, Douglas, edition 1819.

volume of Deemster Parr. Without this explanation, it might have been asked why I quoted from a manuscript in preference to a printed copy of the laws, or how I had obtained access to ancient records that have hitherto been out of the reach of every other author? An improved edition of the Manks laws, entitled the *Ancient Ordinances and Statute Laws of the Isle of Man*, was published by Mr. M. A. Mills, in 1821.

Under the influence of circumstances arising out of the secluded situation and political relations of the Isle of Man, many peculiar enactments became necessary for the governance of the people, though the ancient fabric of "Customary Law" has been modernised considerably since the revestment of the Island in the crown of Great Britain, it yet retains marks of having been originally founded under the strictest influence of feudal principles.¹ From these ancient laws many extracts may be found in the following pages, generally in the words and orthography of the statute, or if abbreviated, only to omit such redundancies as tended either to retard or cloud the signification. The same occurs generally with quotations from old authors.

The secluded situation of the Isle of Man has also led to the continuance of ancient customs² and of superstitious

¹ In the spring of 1842, the fodder jury of the parish of Onchan sold part of a farmer's stock, he having, as they supposed, more cattle than he had means to support.—See vol. ii, p. 242.

² On the 5th June, 1818, the execution of Robert Kewley, for sheep stealing, was to take place at Hango hill, at twelve o'clock, noon; but an hour before that time, the captain of each of the seventeen parishes of the Island, accompanied respectively by four *mounted javelin men*, well accoutred and dressed in their uniform of blue and red, assembled on the parade at Castletown, and thence rode to the place of execution, where they formed a large circle round the gallows to keep off the crowd. When the prisoner, preceded by the constituted authorities, and guarded by the military, arrived, the javelin men nearest the town fell back to right and left, and permitted the melancholy procession to enter the circle.—*Isle of Man Weekly Gazette* of 11th

observances¹ that have ceased to be attended to in other countries, where similar notions of supernatural agency once prevailed.

It is vain to look for the manners and customs of a people in the halls of the great or in the schools of the learned, the existing state of society is generally to be found most accurately portrayed in what is termed the middle walks of life; but he who wishes to witness the olden usages of the natives of Mona, will rarely find them in the towns and villages along the coast. He must look for them in the uplands and there he will not be disappointed. He who is prone to treat with levity all stories in which supernatural agency is employed and to look to real operative causes only for the explanation of events, may justly wonder how rational beings can be actuated by such absurd fancies as he will find collected in the eighteenth chapter of this work. But the customs of a people cannot be studied without acquiring some useful knowledge of mankind; even wisdom may be extracted from the follies and superstitions of our fathers:—²

“All nations have their omens drear,
Their legends wild of woe and fear.”³

In a work purporting to be a general history of the

June, 1818. A body of mounted javelin men on duty in the nineteenth century, was certainly a novel spectacle. These parochial horsemen formed the body-guard of the sovereign prince and lord of Man, from the earliest times to the last progress of the duke of Atholl to the Tynwald Hill.—See vol. ii of this Work, p. 191. By a communication received in answer to a letter soliciting information on this subject from Mr. Robert Fargher, of Douglas, whose grandfather was captain of the parish of Manghold, it appears that to attend the execution of Kewley was the last time the javelin men were called upon to act in a public capacity. For a singular circumstance attending the execution of Kewley, see vol. ii, p. 216.

¹ A trial for witchcraft took place in the parish of Marown, in January, 1844.—See vol ii, pp. 168, 169, 170.

² *Brand's General Preface to Bourne's Antiquitates Vulgares*, p. ix.

³ *Marmion*, introduction to canto vi.

Island, some account of the popular superstitions of the people could not with propriety have been wholly overlooked. Waldron, from whose work I have extracted many stories of supernatural appearances, says:—"For my own part, I shall not pretend to determine if such appearances have any reality or are only the effect of imagination, I shall leave the point to be discussed by those who have made it more their study."¹

In the public records of the Island and in other original documents, I have found the names and transactions of several Bishops of Sodor and Man, not mentioned in the works either of Le Nevi or Keith, these prelates I have now brought before the public in chronological order, although this may be considered by many like carving portraits on a cherry stone, or in other words as labour thrown away, the names of most of the dignitaries of the Manks church having outlived their good actions. The ancient canons of the Manks church, and several grants and charters relating to the Island, are for the first time presented to the English reader.²

A judicious recital of events, where the historian is bewildered in his way by a partial glimmering of imperfect records, is peculiarly difficult. He can merely judge of the reality of events by tracing back effects to their causes. Thus in the *Chronicles of Man*, the transactions of the kings appear often motiveless and disjointed: by referring, however, to many other sources of authentic information, I have succeeded in concentrating in this work fragments and incidental notices of Manks history,

¹ *Description of the Isle of Man*, folios 138, 139.

² Most of these unique manuscripts being deposited in King William's College at Castletown, were unfortunately destroyed by fire on the 14th of January, 1844.—See vol. ii, p. 255.

which were hitherto to be found only scattered in the annals of other countries. My historical researches have enabled me also to fill up for the first time, a blank of four centuries in the chronology of the kings of Man; and in describing the sovereign authority exercised during that period in Man by the Princes of North Wales, for which I have not been indebted to the *Hen-Welley* or to the *Cambrian Legends*, although they bear much on the point, I preferred rather the testimony of ancient authors, so that I may appropriately, in the words of Chaucer say,

“ Oute of olde fieldes, as men sayethe,
Come alle newe corns frome yeare to yeare;
Ande oute of olde bookes, in gude faith,
Come alle newe things upgathered here.”

And I may here remark, that the works I have quoted, are few in number as compared with others I have perused, in prosecution of my gathering in of Manks history.

Several interesting sketches of passing events in the Isle of Man, have hitherto been given to the public; but these little productions being in general designed as guides to tourists, the authors have confined themselves to depicting with care the existing objects and local incidents most likely to attract the notice of the visitor, without enquiring into the real history of the Island. A few among them, who have given a preponderance to the latter subject, have tacitly contented themselves with the contributions of Meyrick and Wilson, to the works of Camden and Gibson, devoting themselves to those subsidiary enquiries. They have made no further investigation.

In the course of my researches for the compilation of this work, I have experienced kindness which I cannot allow to pass unacknowledged here. For the opportunity afforded me of consulting many rare manuscripts and

scarce books, my gratitude is particularly due to the council of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; and to William Forbes Skene, Esq., their secretary, I offer my best thanks for the deep research made by him at my solicitation, for incidents connected with Manks history in the annals of the ancient Irish, and in the northern Sagas.

I remember with feelings of pleasure, the affability of John M'Hutchin, Esq., clerk of the rolls in the Isle of Man, in frankly permitting me to examine and make extracts from the archives deposited in the castle of Rushen; and I feel myself deeply indebted also to the other gentlemen of the Isle of Man, whom I have specially mentioned in course of the work. For the research which he made at my request, in the library of the University of Cambridge, I express my gratitude to J. Lodge, Esq., of Magdalene College. To William Dobie, Esq., of Grangevale, near Beith, in Ayrshire, my thanks are due for the many copious materials which he liberally placed at my disposal, and for the number of scarce books with which he favoured me.

Having thus adverted to the various points necessary to explain the ground on which this history was compiled, it is highly gratifying to me to add the favourable opinion given by the gentlemen of the Manks press,* of such parts of the work as have been already published.

*Lockvale Cottage, Castle Douglas,
July, 1845.*

* Appendix, Note i, "Opinions of the Manks Press."

APPENDIX.—INTRODUCTION.

NOTE I.—PAGE xiv.

OPINIONS OF THE MANKS PRESS.

"A well-written, impartial history of the Isle of Man, has, for a long time, been considered as a desideratum; only scanty scraps of information can be obtained respecting the inhabitants of by-gone days. Authentic documents are scarce, and very difficult to be obtained. Much of what has been given as the history of early times, is evidently fabulous. Many things are only conjectural, and others are garbled statements, to suit the purposes of tourists and guide writers; but we have no clear developement of principles—no faithful delineation of the characters of the people—the way in which they are employed, and their peculiar customs. Mr. Joseph Train, a member of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, has come forward to supply the deficiency; and, if we may judge from the numerous authorities to which he refers, there must have been great diligence used in his researches to procure materials; that he must have availed himself of every source whence he could gain correct information; and that it must have cost much time and labour to have prepared these two volumes for the press."—*Mansman*, August 11, 1842.

"Mr. Train, a Scotchman, has prepared for the press a History of the Island, in two volumes, and the first part is now before us, containing the history of the Island from A.D. 517 until 1637. We have carefully examined this part, and must pronounce it to be a work of great research and labour, and as far as we are competent to judge, is impartial. As the remaining parts are likely to be more interesting, we would recommend to all who wish to become acquainted with the history of their own favourite Isle, to purchase the work."—*Mans Liberal*, August 13, 1842.

"A History of the Island has been a *desideratum*. We have abundance of tiny tours, guide books, sketches, and what not; but nothing of the least pretension to the character of a history. Such, we need scarcely say, has been the subject of much complaint, and the occasion of considerable ignorance and misconception of our antiquities, statistics, ecclesiastical and civil polity, even amongst our own people. The work of Mr. Train ably supplies a long felt deficiency, is a history of no ordinary excellence and interest, and will speedily be ranked among our standard works of historical investigation. It will be an indispensable adjunct in every library of any pretension to completeness. The contents of the present part (part i.) is a chapter on insular statistics, embodying a vast mass of most important and interesting facts. The strictly historical narrative commences with the dynasty of the Welsh kings in the year 517, and continues to the kings and lords of Man, of the House of Stanley, in 1637. The text, descriptive of even these dark ages, is written in a style, at once

chaste, elegant, and concise; even the notes are highly valuable and curious. A vast mass of authorities are quoted, and we have no doubt—so far as authentic records may be considered authority—Mr. Train's work has high claims of impartiality, and unquestionably displays vast research, and literary qualifications of no mean order. Above all, the *sine qua non* of all history is every where visible—a patient investigation of facts—sound judgment and discrimination, in selecting from the musty records of antiquity what is deserving of credit, in accordance with ascertained contemporary history, and rejecting the fabulous and fanciful."—*Mona's Herald*, August 30, 1842.

"The third part of this work has just been issued, and we have great pleasure in introducing it to the notice of the public. History has long been considered an important part of a people's literature, and hence to historical details, the energies of talented men have ever been directed. There are, however, comparatively few good histories to be found in the world of letters. Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, Rollin, and a few others, and we have mentioned all whose efforts are distinguished by the qualities which command immortality. Special qualifications are required to form a good historian. He should be an original thinker, have the ability of discriminating wisely, and be capable of patient, persevering investigation into matters, the connexion of which is obscured by the mists of the past. He should, moreover, be well read in contemporaneous history, have an intimate acquaintance with the country about which he writes—its inhabitants, their origin, habits, laws, customs, superstitions, and legends; and possess withal a facile pen, able to throw the charm of novelty and beauty over the dry details of a people's history. These qualities are but seldom found in one man, yet they are needed in an historian, for history must be interesting in order to its being read, and truthful, that, when read, its facts may be data for the mind to work upon. Such a history of the Isle of Man has been a *desideratum*, which Mr. Train appears to have well supplied. Not being *au fait* in Manx antiquities, we cannot decide upon the accuracy of some of the earlier records; but, from the evidence of investigation which are manifested, we should be inclined to depend on Mr. Train's statements, around which he has contrived to throw the charm and grace of fiction."—*Manx Sun*, May 18, 1844.

"We noticed the first and second portion of this valuable work with commendation, and the part now before us is equally deserving of our warmest praise. The present part brings the civil and ecclesiastical history generally, down to the year 1838, and many occurrences down to the present period. The work evinces extraordinary research, sound judgment, and impartiality; and this part more immediately relating to modern times, becomes more and more interesting to the general reader. Mr. Train has nobly discharged his difficult task: the limits to which the work has been prescribed, necessarily prevent any lengthened literary disquisition of the work, being encumbered with much of what is termed the philosophy of history; but it contains what is of infinitely greater value—accurate summaries of facts, expositions of the peculiar laws and customs, the popular superstitions, antiquities, constitution, &c., &c., in which singular accuracy of information is displayed, and every known authority consulted; forming, at once, a work of highly respectable literary talent, and what is of yet more value, a standard reference of real utility—a work not only *indispensable* in the library of every intelligent Manxman, but which no library, throughout the United Kingdom, with any pretensions to completeness, ought, or can be without. This is high praise, but not more than deserved; for we speak from personal knowledge, when we say that in extent and accuracy of information on all matters of local interest, no previous work can be compared to that of Mr. Train;

nor do we think any future historian can add any information which is not to be found in these volumes. The book is neatly printed, and, withal, one of the cheapest original works now issuing from the press."—*Mona's Herald*, May 7, 1844.

"This is a work of much historical interest and value; and, beyond comparison, the most complete History of the Isle of Man ever given to the public. Mr. Train writes with much eloquence and vigour, and the vast mass of information at his command has been examined with the most persevering industry;—and so far as yet published relative to modern times, of our own knowledge, we can testify to its accuracy and impartiality."—*Odd-Fellows' Chronicle*, December 27, 1844.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

CHAPTER I.

INSULAR STATISTICS.

Geographical Situation of the Island—Its Appearance from the Sea—Mountains—Climate—Springs—Rivers—Bays—Havens and Headlands—Geographical Structure of the Island—Fossil Remains—Minerals—Woodlands—Enclosures—Soil—Agricultural Produce—Parrs—Cattle—Loughdyn Sheep—Rumpy Cats—Deer—Eagles—Puffins—Marine Plants—Fishes—Primitive Inhabitants—Divisions of the Island—Chief Towns—Appendix 1

CHAPTER II.

WELSH KINGS FROM A.D. 517 TO 919.

Various opinions as to the Etymology of the Name of the Island—Shown to be derived from the Celtic Language—Mannanan-Beg—Mac-y-Leirr regarded by the Manks as the Founder and Legislator of their Kingdom—Not a Brother of Fergus II, King of Scotland, as stated by some Authors—That he was the Son of an Irish Prince equally improbable—Apparently identical with Mainus or Finnus, descendants of Fergus I—Early Manks History defective—Gallovidians and Picts, defeated by the Romans, take refuge in the Isle of Man—The Manksmen assist the Gallovidians against the Romans, and fight bravely—Voedicia raises an army in Man—She is taken prisoner in Galloway, and put to death by the Roman Captain, Cerealis, and her troops defeated—Brule, a Scot, Governor of Man—Maelgwyn Gwynedd, prince of North Wales, defeats the Scots in Man, and takes possession of that Island—His Son, Rhun, defeated there by Aidon, King of Scotland, who establishes his Nephew in Man, with the title of Thane—He is slain, and Beli, Prince of North Wales, succeeds to the sovereignty of Man—Cadwallon defeated by Edwin, king of Deria, who conquers and takes possession of the Isle of Man—Cadwalader succeeds his father Cadwallon—Retakes and retains the Isle of Man—North Wales divided by the law of Gavel-Kind—Cynan Tindaethwy obtains peaceable possession of the Isle of Man—Mervyn Vrych marries Easylt, daughter of Cynan, and in her right succeeds to the sovereignty of Man—The name of Mona formerly applied to Anglesea, now confined solely to Man—A hostile fleet from Mona enters the river Boyne—Rodri Maur succeeds his Father in the sovereignty of Man, and being sovereign of all Cambria at his death, these dominions are, by the law of Gavel-Kind, partitioned—His son, Anarawd, inherits the Isle of Man as his part—At the demise of Anarawd the dynasty of the Welsh kings of Man closes, having extended over a period of nearly four centuries—Appendix 37

CHAPTER III.

NORTHERN VIKINGE, GORREE, AND KINGS OF HIS LINE, FROM A.D. 888 TO 1066.

Aurn Konungr slain in the Island of Isla by Regnar Loddbrog—Caithill Fin succeeds to the sovereignty of the Isles—Harold Harfagr succeeds his father, expels the Fylkis Konga or petty princes, and becomes the King of all Norway—His Expedition to the Isles—Dynasty of Ketill—Gorree conquers Man—Castle of Rushen built by Guthred—Rapid succession of Manks Kings—Naval power of Hacon—Danish Sea Rovers—The Manks join the Confederacy against Brian Borom—Glance at British History—Appendix 59

CHAPTER IV.

NORWEGIAN LINE OF KINGS, FROM A.D. 1066 TO 1164.

Northern Auxiliaries of William the Conqueror—Goddard Crovan, son of Harold the Black of Iceland, conquers Man—Subdues Dublin and a great part of Leinster—Terrific irruption of Magnus Barefoot—Death of Goddard Crovan—The Manks flee on the approach of Magnus—Malcolm, King of Scotland, resigns the Western Isles to the Norwegian Conqueror, as does Donald Bane the Isles of Orkney and Shetland—Vision of Magnus—Civil War in Man—Battle decided by the valour of the Women of the Northern District—Wretched state of the Island when visited by Magnus—His descent into Wales—Sends his Shoes to the King of Ireland to carry publicly on his shoulders in token of his submission—Meditates the Conquest of Ireland—Death of Magnus—Lagman, son of Goddard Crovan, ascends the Throne of the Isles—Succeeded by Donald the son of Teig—Fate of Inge-mund—Olave Kleining called to the Throne—Married to a daughter of the Lord of Galloway—Confirmed in his Dominions by the King of Norway—Conspiracy against Olave—His Death and Character—The Assassins of Olave defeated in Galloway—Fergus, Lord of Galloway, places his grandson Godred on the Throne of the Isles—Godred elected King of Dublin—Insurrection of Somerled—Battle at Sea—Godred and Somerled divide the Kingdom of the Isles—Somerled drives Godred from the Throne—Church of St. Maughold plundered—Death and Character of Somerled—Appendix 75

CHAPTER V.

NORWEGIAN LINE OF KINGS, FROM A.D. 1170 TO 1268.

King Godred returns to Man—Is married to the Daughter of an Irish King—Is defeated in Ireland by Milo Cogan—War in Galloway—Godred submits to the Authority of the Pope's Legate—Fall of an Aspirant to the Manks Throne—Matrimonial Alliance with John de Courcy, Duke of Ulster—Death of Godred—Reginald, a natural Son of Godred, usurps the Throne—Assists de Courcy, his Brother-in-Law—Is defeated, and De Courcy made Prisoner—Rebellion of Angus, Son of Somerled—King John sends Fulko-de-Cantelupe to subdue the Isle of Man—Reginald does homage to King John, and receives a Knight's Fee of Corn and Wine—His Brother, Olave the Black, is liberated from Prison—Receives from Reginald the Island of Lewis, with the title of King—Reginald, to support his usurpation, first does homage to Henry III, and then surrenders the Island to the Pope—The Queen of Man forms a Plot to murder Olave the Black, which terminates in the Death of her own Son—Reginald cedes the half of the Isles to Olave, and then applies to Allan, Lord of Galloway, to assist in dethroning him—Reginald deposed, and Olave called to the Throne—During the absence of Olave, Allan plunders the Isle of Man—Battle between Olave and Reginald, in which the latter is slain—Reginald's Character—Olave visits Norway to do homage to

King Haco—Assists him against the Sudereyan Kings—Battle of Isla Sound—Storming of the Castle of Bute—Olave resumes the Government of Man—Assassination of Paul Balkason and Godred Don—Olave receives a Knight's Fee from the King of England—The Manks assist their Gallovidian Neighbours—Death and Character of Olave—Succeeded by his eldest Son Harold—Battle in Man—Harold is confirmed in his Possessions by the Norwegian King—Is knighted by Henry III—Proceeds to Norway—Marries Haco's Daughter—The Royal Party drowned at Sea—Reginald, his Successor, slain—Usurpation of the Government—Magnus, the Son of Olave the Black, raised to the Throne of Man—Expedition of Haco—Battle of Largs—Death and Character of Magnus the last King of the Norwegian Line—Appendix. 105

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLISH AND SCOTCH GOVERNMENT, FROM A.D. 1266 TO 1405.

Retrospective glance at Norwegian History—Death of Haco—The Isle of Man ceded by treaty to Scotland—Death of Magnus the last King of Man of the Norwegian Line—Ivar the Usurper slain in Battle—Man governed by a Lieutenant named Goddard—Succeeded by Allan, the instigator of a sanguinary Combat, at which he is crushed to death—Animosity allayed by the policy of Maurice Okerfair—Brenus, the next Scottish Governor who first taught the Islanders the Art of Fishing, is slain—Succeeded by Donald and Richard de Burgo—Edward's Troops take possession of the Island—Resigned under Seisine to John Baliol—William Earl of Douglas, called the Hardy, Governor of Man—The Island reverts to the Crown of England—Retaken by Robert the Bruce—Plundered by Richard de Mandeville—Mantholine, the Scotch Governor, writes against Witchcraft—The Earl of Salisbury crowned King of Man—Man plundered by two Scotch Earls—The Island sold by Salisbury to Sir William Scroope—Reverts to the King of England, who grants it first to Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and afterwards to Sir John Stanley—Appendix 138

CHAPTER VII.

KINGS AND LORDS OF MAN OF THE HOUSE OF STANLEY, FROM A.D. 1406 TO 1637.

Policy of the former Governments of the Island—The Isle of Man granted to Sir John Stanley by Henry IV, with the title of King—His son holds a Tynwald Court, which alarms the people—Their grievances partially redressed—The title of King of Man discontinued by Thomas, Earl of Derby—Thomas, the Grandson of the preceding Earl, visits the Isle of Man—Invades Galloway and burns the town of Kirkcudbright—Retaliation of Cutlar Mac Culloch, a Gallovidian Chief—The fifth Earl of Derby makes certain regulations in the Island—Munificence of Edward, Earl of Derby—Mysterious death of his successor, Ferdinand—The Supremacy of the Island disputed at Law—William, Earl of Derby, obtains a new patent for the Isle of Man from James I, which he resigns to his Son, Lord Strange, afterwards called the Great Earl of Derby, and retires to a cottage on the banks of the Dec, where he died—Appendix 158

CHAPTER VIII.

LORDS OF THE HOUSE OF STANLEY, FROM A.D. 1637 TO 1736.

Retrospective Sketch of the Proceedings of Lord Strange—His Enactments against Regraters—Bloodwipes and Battery—Succeeds his Father as Earl of Derby—His connection with the civil wars of England—Takes up arms in behalf of Charles I—His treatment from that Monarch—Overture from the Parliamentary Party—Recalled to Man—Discontents of the People—The Exactions of Plough-

duces, Smoke-pennies, Corpse-presents, &c. adjusted—Siege of Latham House—The Earl of Derby rejects offers made to him by Fairfax and Ireton—He joins the King's Army—Is taken Prisoner and beheaded—The Isle of Man surrendered to the Parliamentary Army by Christian—The Sovereignty of the Island granted to Lord Fairfax—Transferred at the Restoration of Charles II. to Charles, Earl of Derby—Trial and Execution of Christian—Enactments by William, Earl of Derby—James, Earl of Derby, stranded on King William's Bank—Act of Settlement—Dynasty of the Stanleys terminates in Man—Appendix . . . 187

CHAPTER IX.

LORDS AND GOVERNORS OF MAN OF THE HOUSE OF ATHOLL, FROM A.D. 1736, TO 1830.

Genealogical Sketch of the Family of Tullibardine—John second Duke of Atholl succeeds to the Lordship of Man—Visits the Island—His enactments—The Lords of the Treasury empowered by Parliament to purchase the Royalties of the Island—Negotiations on that subject long protracted—Sale of the Island by John the third Duke—Act of Revestment—Royal Proclamation—Consequences of the Revestment—Exertions of the Duke of Atholl to obtain further Remuneration in lieu of his vested Rights—Commissioners appointed by Parliament to enquire into the validity of the Duke's claims—Obtains a grant by Act of Parliament—The Manks become loyal subjects of Great Britain—The Duke of Atholl accepts the office of Captain General of the Island—Becomes unpopular—His measures strongly opposed by the People—Finally disposes of all his interests in the Island—Appendix . . . 236

CHAPTER X.

MOUNDS AND FORTIFICATIONS.

Dormitories of the Dead—Ancient Custom of burying eminent Persons who fell in Battle—Cromlachs, Cairns, standing Stones, and other Sepulchral Monuments—The green Moats of Galloway alluded to—Tynwald Hill—Origin of the Name—Formalities of the Tynwald Court—Fortlets and Blockhouses enumerated—Fortified Camp described—Great Antiquity of the Fort of Douglas—Peel Castle described—Occupied as a State Prison—Castle of Rushen described—Besieged by King Robert the Bruce—The Garrisons built and maintained in repair by Suits and Services called Carriages—Quarterlands taxed to supply the Castle Larder—Carriage Troves—Castle Mazes—Setting Corn—Duties of the Garrison Officers—Soldiers' Qualifications—Insular Militia—Commanded by Majors and Captains of Parishes—Dress—Watching and Warding, a Duty of great Importance—Male Population may be called to Arms—All Military Appointments now vested in the Crown of England—Appendix . . . 262

CHAPTER XI.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 76 TO 839.

Introduction of Druidism into Britain—The Druids leave Stonehenge and settle in Anglesa—On their Altars being overturned and their Groves being cut down by the Romans, they retire into the Isle of Man—Office, Dress, and Power of the Arch-Druid—Their Places of Worship and Ceremonies—Anniversary of Bal or Baal and other superstitious Observances—Persecution of the Christians.. Arrival of St. Patrick in the Isle of Man—Converts the Inhabitants to the Christian Faith—Succeeded by St. Germain—Manghold, a Leader of Irish Banditti, becomes Bishop of Man—St. Bridget, one of the tutelar Saints of Ireland, receives the Veil of Virginity from St. Manghold—Scottish Princes educated by St. Conan, Bishop of Man—An Irish Prince nearly starved to death—Singular Adventure of Orlygus—Appendix . . . 308

CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 838 TO 1839.

Bishopric of Sodor founded by Pope Gregory IV—Wimund consecrated by the Archbishop of York—Norwegians, Scots, and Englishmen admitted to the See of the Isles without any distinction as to country—Lawrence consecrated Bishop of Man by the Archbishop of Drontheim—The Manks laid under an Interdict for having banished the Bishop—The Smoke-penny Tax imposed, as a Punishment for that Offence—William consecrated Bishop of Man at Avignon, by Pope Clement VII—The Bishopric of the Isles separated from that of Sodor and Man—The Earl of Derby confirms to Huan and his Successors all the Privileges anciently possessed by the Bishops of Man—The singular title of "Sword Bishop" borne by John Meyrick—Earl of Derby's opinion as to the choice of a Bishop—Patriotic Exertions and Bequests of Bishop Barrow—Account of Bishop Wilson—The Scriptures translated into the Manks Language—The People resist certain Claims of Tithes made by the Bishop—The See of Sodor and Man to be united to that of Carlisle—That Act repealed—A Bill passed by the House of Keys for the Commutation of Tithes—Appendix 331

HISTORY OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

CHAPTER I.

INSULAR STATISTICS.

Geographical Situation of the Island—Its Appearance from the Sea—Mountains—Climate—Springs—Rivers—Bays—Havens and Headlands—Geographical Structure of the Island—Fossil Remains—Minerals—Woodlands—Enclosures—Soil—Agricultural Produce—Purrs—Cattle—Loaghtyn Sheep—Rumpy Cats—Deer—Eagles—Puffins—Marine Plants—Fishes—Primitive Inhabitants—Divisions of the Island—Chief Towns.

THE ISLE OF MAN forms the central point of the British dominions in Europe. It lies in St. George's Channel,¹ at nearly an equal distance from Cumberland, Ulster, and Galloway.² The length of the Island is about thirty miles,

¹ It lies directly in the chops of the channel, that runs between Scotland and Ireland. If this Island of Man did not very much break off the force of the winds and westerly tides, it might be much worse for the part of England that lies opposite to it.—*Camden Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 1441; *Chaloner's Treatise of the Isle of Man*, cap. i.; *Sacheverell's Survey of Man*, p. 1.

² It raised no small disputes among the ancients to fix to which of the countries this Island belonged; but the difference was at last adjusted, as it appeared that venomous creatures brought over to try the experiment would live there, it was unanimously adjudged to belong to Britain, and not to Ireland.—*Heylyn's Microcosmus, or Description of the Great World*, edit. 1621, p. 524.—*Hollinshead's Chronicles of England*, folio edit. p. 37.—*Camden's Britannia*, vol. ii. p. 1439.

Pennant says, vipers lived formerly in the Western Isles, which includes the Isle of Man, so venomous, that a sword, on which their poison had fallen, would hiss like a red hot iron in water.—*Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, quarto edit. vol. ii. p. 263.—There has not, however, been a snake seen in the Island by any person now alive; but the sand and common lizard abound in it, as do the warty and common eel.—*Dimensions of the Island.*

and the breadth eleven; although these dimensions differ widely from those stated by some ancient geographers. Its northern extremity, called the Point of Ayre, is in lat. 54 deg. 27 min. N.* and lon. 4 deg. 20 min. W. from Greenwich.

In July, 1836, I found the salmon's strength of the sea at the Point of Ayre to be $26\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., by Bates's patent saccharometer, while at the race of the Calf it was only $25\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. by the same instrument.

From the surrounding shores, the Isle of Man appears in the blue distance like a dark cloud hanging over the boundary of the waters, or, as an old writer says, "It looks like ane parke in ye seae impaled with rocks."¹

As the voyager approaches this little territory, the altitude of its mountains seems to rise before him. Down their sloping sides, rocks and ravines meet his view, whilst in passing along the shore, the glens and bases of the hills present many objects of rural beauty and scenes of romantic grandeur.

Snafeld,² the highest mountain in the Island, rises 2004 feet above the level of the sea, and 200 feet above the conical mass of North Barrule.³ The mountainous range extending from Maughold to Brada, by intercepting the fleets of vapour from the south, frequently envelopes the

* Appendix, Note the first.

¹ *Heylin's Survey of Guernsey*, cap. i, p. 298.—*Ap. Campbell's Political Survey*, vol. ii. p. 513.

² This, in the ancient Norse language, signifies "Snowy Mountains," from *snaer*, (snow) and *faeld* (hill.) One of the highest mountains in Iceland bears the same name, and is spelled *Snaefjeld*.—*Uno Von Troib's Letters from Iceland*, London edit. 1780, p. 88

³ *Baare Oole*, in the Manks language, signifies the "top of an apple," from which the mountain takes its name, being of that form. The prospect from the hill seems to have excited a whimsical reflection in the mind of James Earl of Derby. He says in a letter to his son, "When I go to the mount called Barool, and turning me round, see England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, I think shame to see so many kingdoms at once, which no place I think in any nation that we know of under heaven can afford such a prospect of, and have such little profit by them."—*Peck's Decid. Curiosa*, vol. xi, book xi, No. xii.

Island in dense fogs, thereby adding to the ingential humidity of the climate; but their winters are not severe, frosts seldom occur, and are of short continuance, and snow is rarely to be seen for any length of time on the ground.

Perennial springs, descending from the mountains towards the sea, are often swollen by heavy rains, into rivers of considerable magnitude. Of these, Sulby is the largest. It rises in the northern aspect of Snafield, and discharges itself into the sea at Ramsey, where its estuary forms a harbour. Insular tradition is very strong with respect to the discharge, formerly, of all the waters in the great northern level, in the direction of Lemoor, instead of Ramsey, and the aspect of the country favours that opinion.

The other principal rivers are the Doo and the Glass, which, winding from the mountains of Braddan and Marown, unite and fall into the sea at Douglas. The Neb, or as it is now more generally termed, the Great River, which rises in the mountains of Michael, after a rapid course joins the sea at Peel; and the Water of Castletown, which springs from South Barrule; besides these, there are many trout fishing streams.

At one time a muscle, containing large pearls, was found in the Doo; but none have been discovered in these shells lately.¹ Some of these springs are said to contain peculiar qualities; St. Catherine's is mentioned by the tourist Feltham, as possessing medicinal properties, and a more ancient writer says, "There is a pool in the mountainous part of Kirk Christ Rushen of such vitriolic quality that ducks and geese cannot live near it."² Balla-

¹ Mr. Forbes exhibited one of these shells to the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh in 1835, as a remarkable variety of *unio margaritifer*, peculiar to the Isle of Man; and the discovery was announced by Mr. Gray to the British Association that met at Liverpool in 1837.—*Malacologia Monensis*, Edin. 1838, pp. 44, 45.

² *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702, p. 8.

trollag spring, near Ballasalla, is of a mineral kind, and several other saline and chalybeate springs are to be found in the Island.

The sea boundary is in many parts formed by precipitous cliffs, deeply indented with caverns, formed by the dashing of the billows which meet here from different directions. The flood streams that roll towards the east from the southern coast, and from the northern shores of Ireland, unite about a mile to the west of Contrary Head, (so called from this circumstance), and these again, dividing into two branches, the one runs towards the Point of Ayre at the speed of four miles an hour, while the other takes the direction of the Calf at the increased rate of six miles per hour; these currents again meet off Maughold Head and pass away with less velocity than when rounding the Island.

The Havens and Headlands are objects of great importance to seafaring people. The Point of Ayre, a tract of lowland, constitutes the northern extremity of the Island; immediately south from it, on the eastern coast, is Ramsey Bay, the largest in the Island, being about five miles in width and stretching nearly two miles inward. During westerly winds it affords safe anchorage to vessels of the largest size in the British navy; it is bounded on the S.W. by Maughold Head, a bold promontory, four hundred feet high. About six miles from Ramsey is Laxey Bay; the shore on both sides is distinguished by precipices, which rise to a greater height than any on that part of the coast; it is less interrupted by deep indentations, and is closely backed by the high land from within. The land-locked Bay of Douglas is bounded on the south by a headland of the same name, and on the north by Banks's Howe; it is about two miles in width, and stretches half a mile inward; it affords good shelter to vessels during gales from various points.

Derbyhaven is a circular basin, about half a mile in diameter, having an entrance by a narrow opening on the east. It is protected on all sides, and is an excellent lee-shore asylum for vessels that take the beach. There is a lighthouse erected on the round tower called Fort Derby, on the low point that forms the seaward boundary.

Castletown Bay adjoins Langness Point on the south-east. It is a deep, rocky, and dangerous indentation, two miles wide, and three inland. The acuminate Stack of Scarlet Point forms its south-west termination. Rounding it, Poolvash or Port-le-Mary Bay sweeps to the westward. From Port-le-Mary the high precipices of Spanish Head occupy the shore. Beyond these lies the Calf,¹ divided from the mainland by a narrow channel. It is an island of a circular form, rising high and abrupt from the sea, and contains about 600 superficial acres. Rounding the southern extremity of the Island, the western coast presents a perpendicular wall about 200 feet high, almost in a right line from the Race of the Calf to Port Erin Bay, being a distance of two miles.

The form of Port Erin Bay resembles exactly that of a horse-shoe. The gentle declivity of the sandy shore at the head forms a striking contrast to the tremendous rocks of Brada Head, which extend along the coast to Dalby Point, a distance of five miles.

Peel Hill is an oblong and insulated eminence, running two miles along shore, and often rising to the height of 500 feet above the level of the sea. It terminates in the small rocky islet on which Peel Castle stands. These form the western boundary of Peel Bay, which has a good harbour, but of small dimensions. There are many curious caves in the rocks along the coast to the northward

¹ The name *Calf* is of Norse origin. *Maylor Kalf*, in the Norwegian language, signifies a "small island adjoining a larger one," as the Calf of Mull, the Calf of Man, &c.—*Johnson's Account of Haco's Expedition*. Copenhagen edit. 1780, p. 110.

of Peel. Agates and cornelians, fit for jewellery, are frequently found. It is about ten miles from Peel to Jurby Point. From thence the coast slopes along to the Point of Ayre, almost in a straight line, rapidly reducing the Island to its narrow termination on the north. In former times, many a poor mariner met his fate on the rocky and shoaly shores of Man; but the danger has of late been greatly obviated by the erection of landmarks and light-houses at the most important harbours and headland.—The sunken rocks called the “Chickens,” adjoining the Calf—the “Carrick,” near Port-le-Mary—and the “Se-raans,” at Langness Point, were the most fatal to strangers. There are also the Shoals of Strumakiti, Bahama, and dangerous shallow, which, from the accident that befell the English Monarch there in 1690, has since been called “King William’s Sands.”

The geological structure of the Island consists of primitive clay slate and mica slate resting upon granite, of grey-wackeslate, of limestone, and of sandstone, resting upon clay. Near Poolvash Bay there is quarried, below high-water mark, good marble for tomb-stones, the formation of which is facilitated by the increased thinness of the laminæ. The steps of St. Paul’s church in London are formed of this marble, which was presented by Bishop Wilson. At Castletown, the bed of the river is of blueish limestone. When I visited that place in 1836, I had an opportunity of examining some fragments containing impressions of shells and other marine exuviae; and I was informed by some workmen employed in deepening the harbour, that a butterfly, superimposed on lime, had been dug up from the bottom of the river a few days before.

On the shore east of Castletown, a red sandstone conglomerate is superimposed on grey-wacke slate. At Rockmount, a formation of homblende rock occurs.¹ At

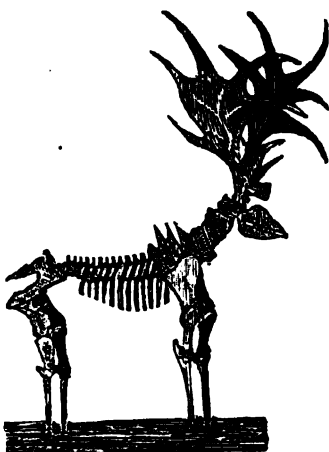
¹ *Oswald’s Guide*, page 30.

the place called, by mariners, the "Cow of the Calf," are pointed rocks that present a most grotesque, yet beautiful appearance; the upper parts are formed of a kind of shining spar, as white as snow, while the lower are of bastard marble, as black as jet, and they are so exactly divided in height, that one pillar seems fixed by art upon another, in order to form a perfect contrast of colour.

In the lime district of Ronaldsway, coal has been bored for with some appearance of success.¹ Bones of animals unknown in this quarter of the globe have frequently been dug up in the extensive morass called the Curragh, embedded in shell marl, with which the north district abounds: one of the largest heads of the *cervus alces*, of Linnæus, was found here. It measures from the tip of the highest antler to that of the other eight feet six inches; the longest horn is five feet eight inches, and at its broadest palmative part fourteen inches. This splendid relic is now in the British Museum; but the fossil elk in the Royal Museum of the College of Edinburgh, is now the most perfect known specimen of this animal.

	ft. inc.
Height to the tip of the process of the first dorsal vertebra, which is the highest point of the trunk	6 1
Height of the anterior superior angle of the scapula	5 4
Length from the first dorsal vertebra to the tip of the o.s. coccygis.....	5 2
Height to the tip of the right horn ..	9 7½

This superb fossil was dug up near Ballaugh, in the year 1819; it was eighteen feet below the surface. The enterprising individual who found it, Mr. Thomas Kewish, of Ballaugh,



¹ *Oswald's Guide*, p. 33.—The recent attempts to find coal in the Island are fully detailed in Chap. XXIV of this work, and also the geology of the sheading of Rushen.

expended a considerable sum in getting it put together; but it was claimed by the Duke of Atholl, as Lord of the Manor, and by his Grace presented to the College Museum.¹

Lead ore has been found in different parts of the Island so early as the year 1292. John Comyn, Earl of Buchan, obtained from Edward I., a license to dig for lead in the Calf of Man, to cover eight towers of his castle of Crugelton, in Galloway.²

At a Tynwald held by Sir John Stanley at the castle of Rushen, on the vigil of St. Mary, 1422, it was ordered, "That my mine be sett forward by my Lieutenant Receiver and Comptroller, for my best profit, and that they see the miner do his duty."³

Mines of lead were worked in the Isle of Man during the reign of Henry IV. of England, and were in some activity in the early part of last century. Bishop Wilson says, "The lead mines have been wrought to good advantage, many hundred tons having been smelted in England." Mr. Taylor, in his *Records of Mining*,⁴ states, that five hundred tons of lead ore were raised in the Isle of Man in the year 1828; in the year 1830 there were five hundred and forty-eight tons of ore and black jack⁵ exported; and, in 1836, there was even a larger quantity.

Lead mines have been wrought for a considerable time past in the mountains of Man, at Foxdale, Brada, and Laxey. The Bishop of Landaff states the produce of some of the Manks ore to have amounted to twenty ounces of silver in the ton of lead,⁶ and by some of the workmen

¹ In the *Edinburgh Journal of Natural History* and of the *Physical Sciences* for August, 1836, p. 58, this fossil is stated to have been dug up in the parish of Kirk Ralaff, which is evidently a mistake, as there is no such place in the Island.

² *Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 372. *Dugdale Baron*, vol. i, p. 685.

³ *Statute 1422, Lex Scripta* of the Isle of Man, p. 26.

⁴ *Knight's Magazine*, No. 186. Mineral Kingdom, Section 33, "Lead."

⁵ *Oswald's Guide*, p. 47

⁶ *Watson's Chemical Essays*, vol. iii, p. 328, 7th edition.

it has been asserted that the quantity of silver has occasionally amounted to thirty-five ounces in the ton. A recent writer says, "The lead glance of the Manks mines is very rich in silver, one of it affording, on assay, 180oz. of silver, according to the report of the workmen employed at the mines."¹

Mr. Wood was evidently misled by the workmen, as I have the best authority for stating that the silver produce never rose above the quantity mentioned by the Bishop of Landaff.

Copper ore is found at Brada. That mine was first discovered in the seventeenth century; it is abundant and rich in quality, producing six pennyweights of pure copper from an ounce of ore. All mines belonged by prerogative to the Lord of the Isle: they were let by him, and he claimed, as lessor, one-eighth part of their gross produce. If discovery is made of any mine or ore within the Island, the same is to be immediately communicated to the Lord proprietor, and if he sends over a miner, the Lord's officers are to see him do his work faithfully, because the Lord should not be at expense in that work unless it be to his profit and advantage.²

There is scarcely any growing timber to be seen on the Island older than the middle of last century, although the legislature, upwards of two hundred years ago, manifested great care to protect growing wood in all time coming. In the year 1629, it was enacted, "That any person convicted of breaking trees, plants of trees, or quick-setts, should be whipped throughout the market towns of the Island;" and at a subsequent period, "Forasmuch as it would greatly conduce not only to the beauty, but also to the health and riches of my Island, to have wood planted in all convenient places, be it enacted, that who-

¹ *Woods' History of the Isle of Man*, p. 19.

² *Statutes*, anno. 1613, 1618, 1630.

soever shall be convicted of having cut, broken, or spoiled any tree, sett, plant, or graft, shall, for the first offence, be compelled to plant *five* for every one so hurt or spoiled; and for the second offence *ten*, in such places as the owner of the land shall appoint; and for the third offence to be fined to the Lord, and suffer such punishment, by imprisonment, as the Governor or his Deputy may think fit to inflict."¹

Although the Island is destitute of growing wood to an extent that might not have been expected by these enactments, the log timber yet found in the turburies prove that it has not always been so. In the Curragh of Ballaugh, trees of very large dimensions have been found twenty feet beneath the surface, with their roots firm in the ground, and their trunks laid over in a north-easterly direction.² The trees found buried are oak or fir separately, never intermixed, and occasionally hazel, birch, willow, and thorn. Some names of places yet imply that the Island was formerly well wooded.³

Injurious to the Islanders as their ancestors' neglect, or, perhaps, careless destruction of their growing timber proves, still greater blame attaches to themselves, who now feel the want, and possessing the ability to supply it, still omit planting. Some small attempts have been made, forming a kind of *oasis* in the desert.

¹ *Statutes*, anno. 1629, 1667, *Lex Scripta*, pp. 103, 151.

² *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702, p. 12.

³ *Balla Kelly* in Marown; *Balla Kelly* in Santon; *Balla Killey* in Malew; *Balla Killey* in Rushen; *Balla Killey* in Bride; *Balla Kelly* in Maughold; *Balla Kelly* in Andreas, and *Ballaktyl* in Andreas, all signify "The town or estate of the Wood or Forest." *Knock-e-Killey* in German, "The hill of the Wood;" *Eary Kelly* in Michael, and *Airy Kelly* in Marown, both signify "The open Wood or Forest." *Ballacallin*, "The place of the Hazelwood;" *Cronk-darragh* in Arbory, "The hill of the Oakwood;" *Darragh* in Rushen, "Oak trees;" and *Glen Darragh* in Rushen, "The vale of Oak;"—*Cregeen's Manks Dictionary*, Douglas, 1835.—*Mc. Alpine's Gaelic Dictionary*, Edin. 1833. At the present time in the south of Scotland, a single farm steading is called "a town," and this appears to have been the case formerly in the Isle of Man.

What a difference in scenery would this little Island present, if the horizon were skirted by a fringe of wood, and the foreground ornamented by waving groves,—occasionally concealing the mountain streams and clustered cottages; but it is not in point of ornament alone that the deficiency of growing wood is to be regretted, the scarcity of timber impedes the improvement of agriculture.¹ What the Manks farmer cannot supply by stone or straw remains often undone.

By an ancient customary law, the inhabitants were not obliged to fence their lands, except from Lady-day till Michaelmas, so that during the remaining part of the year the lands lay common; but as the growth of timber could not be extended while such a course was followed, it was provided in 1583, “That all make sufficient *ditches* of the height of four feet-and-a-half, and in thickness of a *double ditch*.”² By the act of 1667, these fences were required to be five feet high; and by an act of 1691, all fences were required to be five feet-and-a-half high, with a trench at the bottom of one foot-and-a-half deep, and three feet otherwise; a fence of six feet high in the perpendicular, where a trench cannot be made, and where a trench must be used instead of a ditch, such trenches to be six feet broad at the top, and three feet deep.³

These fences are constructed of sods taken from the

¹ The aspect of the Island has, however, been certainly much improved since it was thus described by Waldron, not much above a century ago. “The place may properly enough be called a rocky mountainous desert, little space being left for either arable or pasture, and nothing of wood or forest in the whole Island. You may ride many miles, and see nothing but a thorn tree, which is either fenced round or some other precaution taken that so great a rarity shall receive no prejudice. Hedges they have none, but what are made of clay. They have a great quantity of fern and gorse that serves them to bake their bread with instead of wood.”—*Description of the Isle of Man*, London, 1731, p. 143.

² By a *ditch*, is here meant *hedge*; the word is probably a corrupted sound of *dyke* or mound, and is used as such in Ireland. By *double ditch* is meant a hedge consisting of two exterior ranges of sods with a space between them filled with earth raised from the side or bottom.—*Quayle's Agriculture of the Isle of Man*, pp. 47, 48.

³ *Statutes*, anno. 1583, 1667, 1691, *Lex Scripta*, pp. 78, 166, 180.

surface, and filled up in an equilateral triangle, to the height required by law; at the foundation they reach the width of six feet, and at the summit two. The top is generally planted with furze, which gives the country a very primitive appearance, particularly as the fields in general are very small.

The space of ground excoriated to raise these hedges is never less than four feet on each side, but where struggling whins and stones stud the surface, fourteen feet on each side are sometimes sacrificed to raise the embankment. From the first moment of the erection of some of these fences their decay commences, by the mere action of the elements;—the sand returns to the surface, whence it came, and new sacrifices of soil must be made to keep them at their original elevation.

The original design of these fences it may be supposed, was to mark each man's holding, rather than to exclude the cattle of strangers, or to protect his own. The law of trespass is spread over the statute book, and the legislature strives to produce, by means of fines and penalties, that which the laws of motion and matter forbid! In order to procure the food growing on the slanting fence, the cattle and sheep acquire the habit of clambering on it, and often, perhaps from natural causes, preferring the forbidden side to their own. The boundary fences are often the grounds of contention between contiguous owners, each wishing to throw the burden of repairs on his neighbour, and consequently to neglect them himself; hence the wretched state of the fences, and the employment of penfolds.¹

¹ *Statutes*, anno. 1664, 1665, 1705, 1747, 1753, *Lex Scripta*, pp. 144, 157, 207, 315, 354. This primitive mode of enclosing land intended for tillage, is not wholly confined to the Isle of Man. In Jersey, every field is surrounded by a mound of earth six or eight feet broad at the base, and nearly as high, surmounted by hedge brambles; but in Guernsey, where the fences are of the same description, they are topped with furze.—*Inglis's Tour of the Channel Islands*, chap. ii., iii.

By statutes in 1578 and 1579, a penfold was ordered to be erected in every parish, to be upheld by the tenant of every *treen*,¹ in the same manner as the church-yards are kept in repair. For every penfold a warden is elected by the captain of the parish and four of the great inquest. It is his duty to lie in the penfold while he has cattle under his charge, and can demand as his due, a halfpenny for every foot so pounded, whereof he receives one half, and the other half goes to the Lord of the Isle.²

Small as is the extent of the Island, it comprehends almost every variety of soil. To define the boundaries of each would be attended with difficulty, and as they are constantly shifting, would be liable to error. Bishop Wilson, in his brief sketch of the Island, says, "There is a remarkable layer of peat, for some miles together, of two or three feet thick, under a layer of gravel, clay, or earth, two, three, and even four feet deep."³

A large portion of the Island is yet unreclaimed by the plough, but the bleak and sterile soil of some parts of it will long preclude its being brought under tillage, although traces of the plough are still discernable in lofty situations. When Edwin, king of Northumberland, ravaged Man, in the beginning of the seventh century, there were in it only three hundred families; if this be understood of *hide lands*, as the Saxon translation takes it, then it implies that there were forty-eight thousand acres of profitable land in the Island.⁴

While under the sway of the Norwegians, the Isle of Man made little progress in the arts of civilized life; but it appears to have been well supplied with corn at an

¹ *Treen* is a township that divides tithes into three.—*Cregeen's Manks Dictionary*.

² *Statutes*, anno. 1577, 1579, 1583. *Lex Scripta*, pp. 62, 71, 155, 156, 166.—Every parish is divided into treens, each of which comprises four quarterlands, varying in extent from 60 to 150 acres, according to value.

³ *Camden's Britannia*, vol. ii., p. 1442.

⁴ *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, Dublin, 1775, vol. ii., p. 1442.

early period of its history. The small white oats, provincially called *placket*,¹ was cultivated in the Island in early times, as were also rye and some kinds of pulse. White pease were only introduced in the time of Bishop Wilson, by a curate, who sowed them in his garden. The number was so small that they were nearly all picked up by a pigeon, in a few minutes afterwards; but just as the feathered depredator was about to wing away with the stolen pulse, the clergyman, having discovered the theft, presented his fowling piece and shot him dead on the spot; not wishing to part with his pease, he ripped open the stomach of the lifeless bird, took out the corn, planted it anew, and, according to tradition, had an excellent crop.

Doubts have been entertained as to the period when the cultivation of wheat was introduced into the Island. Mr. Quayle, in his *Agricultural Survey*,² founding on a document in *Rymer's Foedera*, supposes it to have been introduced prior to 1235;³ but this does not appear to be the case from a fair translation of the document referred to;⁴ but we have at least sufficient evidence to induce us to believe that wheat was cultivated in Man in the fourteenth century.

The Manks bought of the Scots a truce for one year for 300 marks; but not having been able to raise the whole of this sum in specie, they loaded a vessel with dif-

¹ *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, Dublin, 1775, vol. ii, p. 532.

² *General View of the Agriculture of the Isle of Man*, London, 1812, p. 56.

³ *Rymer*, vol. i., p. 342.

⁴ "A.D. 1235. The King to his chosen and faithful M. Gerold, son of Maurice Fitz Gerold, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; greeting, know that we have given and confirmed by our seal, to our chosen and faithful Olave, King of Man, both the Island, for his service in keeping under his care the coast of the English sea towards Ireland, and the aforesaid Isle of Man. And we have also given him forty marks, and one hundred cramocks of corn, (frumenti) and five casks of wine, yearly, to be received in our land of Ireland, at the term of Lent, by the hands of our Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as long as the said King of Man shall rightly and faithfully serve us by guarding the said coasts."—*Rymer's Foedera*, vol. i., p. 342.—*Calendar of Ancient Charters, with Rolls and Schedules of Fealties done in the Isle of Man*, London, 1772, p. 429.

ferent articles to make up the amount. Among these was wheat. In her passage to Scotland, this vessel was intercepted by some Irishmen, but Edward III., in the sixteenth year of his reign, 1343, issued a writ to the Chief Justice of Ireland for her liberation.¹

If the necessities of the Islanders were at that time so great as to prevent their raising the sum required in specie, it is infinitely more probable that the wheat found on board the captured vessel was their own production, than that it had been previously imported.

We find from the time of the earliest records, that all the soldiery of the castles and other garrisons of the Island were supplied with a daily allowance of wheaten bread, and it was a standing order from the year 1422, "That there should be, at all times, eleven bowles of ground wheate in the Castle, to be kept in pipes, and thirty casts of bread to be made out of one bowle of wheate."² At the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, an allowance was made for the wheat delivered to Rushen Abbey, and the rents of the ecclesiastical lands were afterwards ascertained solely by the value of that species of corn. John Meryk, Bishop of Man from 1577 to 1600, enumerates wheat among the insular crops.³

The culture of wheat, however, could not have been extensive; even at the present day it has not entered into the ordinary food of the inferior orders of people dwelling in the towns, and still less of the peasantry. The culture of this grain now extends to every farm of magnitude, yet the Island derives part of its supply from the English coasts, there being about 2500 quarters imported annually.

Until near the end of last century, they got part of their wheaten bread, in a manufactured state, from Cumber-

¹ *Prynere's Animadversions of the Fourth Institute*, chap. lix., p. 384.

² *Statutes*, anno. 1422, 1561, *Lex Scripta*, pp. 18, 41.

³ *Camden's Britannia*, edition 1696, p. 1051.

land, whence vessels trading to Ireland brought it out and disposed of it to the Manks boats at sea, then constantly hovering about in pursuit of their smuggling business.¹

In the improvements that have taken place in farming live stock in modern times in the Isle of Man, some indigenous animals have become extinct, and others by crossing with different breeds are daily losing their characteristic peculiarities. The purr, a species of the wild boar that ran at large in the mountains, was only extirpated near the close of last century. These animals were of a grey sandy colour, spotted with black, and were so numerous as not to escape the fangs of the churchman. In the year 1577, the spiritual law directs an account to be taken of all purrs, at Michaelmas, and the tithe to be received at Easter, in the proportion taken of colts and calves.² Those that could be collected in the hills were brought to the low-lands in winter, but many ran wild the whole year round, increasing in strength and ferocity. The last wild purr had a den in the mountain of South Barrule, whence he sallied forth almost daily into some of the surrounding valleys in search of prey. In summer, a fold was no barrier to his killing and carrying off both sheep and lambs. In winter, impelled perhaps by hunger, he became so daring that every adjoining farm-yard was the scene of his depredations. At last the people rose to drive the enemy from his stronghold, and besetting him with the fiercest dogs that could be procured, they succeeded in hunting him over the high cliffs of Brada Head, where he was killed by falling amongst the rocks, ere he reached the sea below. This was the last of the purrs. A species resembling them are now to be found in the Island, said to have been brought from the coast of Guinea.³

¹ *Curwen's Agricultural Report*, appendix; *Bullock's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 245.

² *Statute*, anno. 1577, *Lex Scripta*, p. 55.

³ *Quayle's View of Agriculture*, p. 119.

Strong draught horses, chiefly from Ireland, have displaced the indigenous breed, thus described by a gentleman who visited the Island in the year 1648:—¹

“The Manks breed of horses are low, little, and withal pitifully poor, and the most unsightly anywhere to be seen, for you are scarce able to discern any head for hair, which is of a sooty black colour. Long straggling hair hangs dangling likewise down beneath their bellies. Their excoriated hides are not, by the eye, to be distinguished from a bear’s skin. A reasonably tall man needs no stirrups to astride them; but being mounted, no man needs desire a better beast for travelling; they will plod on freely the whole day and night also, if they be put to it, without either meat or drink.”² Of these hardy little animals, Waldron says, “They wear no shoes, eat no corn, never go into a stable but when they come off a journey; though the weather be ever so bad they are turned out to graze.”³

The original stock is said to be extinct, but a small breed is still seen in the uplands, unshod and rarely housed even in winter. So early as the year 1584, the attention of the legislature was turned towards the improvement of the breed of horses. “Whosoever shall keep a stoned horse, unless he be *five quarters* of a yard high, and worth six shillings and eight-pence, shall, upon presentment to the Great Inquest, be fined in three shillings and four-pence;”⁴ and if any person shall be detected pulling the hair of horses’ tails, he shall be punished on the wooden horse for the space of two hours, and whipped from the waist upwards, naked.”⁵

¹ This gentleman, according to his own account, left Wales to escape the exactions of the plundering parliamentary troopers, and fixed his residence for a short time in the Isle of Man, of which he wrote an account. This curious M.S. fell into the hands of Mr. Townley, from which several extracts are published in his journal, printed at Whitehaven, by Ware, 1791.

² *Appendix, Townley’s Journal*, Whitehaven, 1791, vol. ii., p. 108.

³ *Waldron’s Description of the Isle of Man*, folio 157.

⁴ *M.S. Statute Book*, p. 91, “Horses;” *Statute*, anno. 1584; *Lex Scripta*, p. 69.

⁵ *Statutes*, anno. 1601, 1602; *Original Statute Book*, folio 68.

As the Welshman's account of the Manks black cattle in his time is curious, I again quote his words: "Their beeves in general are, by consequence, little, low, small, and poor, and no marvel, for they feed, in most parts, in heathy grounds, lying continually in the open fields; neither is any hay or fodder given them. Those that graze by the sea-shore, or near thereunto, are observed every day, of themselves, to go down in companies, nature and necessity only guiding them, and there will they expect the ebbing of the tide water, to have the benefit of eating the sea-tangle. The cattle do more willingly, yea, I may say, more greedily feed on those weeds than upon grass or hay; and it is to be observed, that those cows that feed on them are far fairer, bigger bodied, fatter, and give more milk than those in the inland parts, that have not the same commodity for their saturation, sustenation, and nourishment."¹ The cattle at present met with in the Island are a mixture of the breeds of different countries, particularly of England and Scotland.

The Isle of Man has also an indigenous breed of sheep, termed, in the language of the country, *Loaghtyn*,² which signifies a brownish colour. These hardy little creatures are of mean appearance, with a high back, narrow ribs, and tails somewhat resembling that of a goat. A writer of the sixteenth century says, "The Manks sheep have tails of almost incredible magnitude."³ In the whole breed, a general distinctive mark is said to appear in a brownish coloured patch on the back of the neck.⁴

¹ "It was singular to see the Manks cows feeding greedily on tangle." I fancy he was near-sighted, and took the great hogs for small cows; for those go regularly to the shore on the recess of the tide, not to feed upon tangle, but upon small crabs brought in with it. These they devour with great greediness.—*Townley's Journal*, vol. ii, p. 106.

² *Quayle*, p. 111. *Cregeen's Manks Dictionary*.

³ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of England*, vol. i, p. 38.—*Appendix Wood*, p. 42.—*Harrison's Description of Britain*, p. 38.

⁴ "They have a remarkable kind of sheep called *Loaghtyn*, which is one of the greatest natural rarities in the country."—*Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702.

In traversing the Island in the summer of 1836, I could only observe, in the uplands, a few of these starved looking animals. They are generally kept throughout the year on the waste lands, and whether they really produce any profit to the owner seems doubtful. Mr. Quayle did not underrate their value in saying, "When shorn, eight fleeces, unwashed, average seven pounds of wool."¹

The same breed of sheep appears in St. Kilda, one of the most remote isles of the Hebrides,² and likewise in Iceland, from which it may be inferred that they are of Norwegian origin. The esteem in which cloth or stockings made of *loaghtyn* wool is held by the Manks, from a sort of national pride, leads to the preservation of sheep of this colour. From the great influx, however, of foreign breeds, this particular race is in danger of being soon lost; parliament having permitted an annual exportation of 300 sheep from Great Britain into the Isle of Man.

It appears from the statute book, that these *loaghtyn* sheep were formerly so wild that they could not be brought into the fold, for the purpose of taking the tithe. "Every one that hath *wild sheep* or lambs that cannot be brought to fold, then the proctor hath used to *depose* them upon a book what wool and lambs they have, and so to pay truly the tithe thereof."³

Moles, badger, and foxes are now unknown in the Isle

¹ *Quayle's Agricultural View*, p. 43. "The natives pretend that there is a great uncertainty in regard of these sheep; but some, curious in this respect, have found it would be very practicable to have whole flocks of this breed, and with some industry and care, make a very profitable manufacture."—*Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, Dublin edition, 1775, vol. ii, p. 534.

² *Martin's Voyage to St. Kilda*, p. 27. A singular custom is mentioned by Martin in his *Description of the Western Isles*, p. 109, which, I am informed, once prevailed in Man, although I cannot say, with certainty, that it did so. "In the event of sheep having twin lambs, beside the ordinary rent paid, one of them was to go to the laird, who, on his part, was obliged, if any of the tenant's wives had twins, to take one of them into his own family." Mr. Martin knew a gentleman who had sixteen of these twins in his house at one time.—*Appendix Toland's History of the Druids*, London, 1726, p. 172.

³ *Old Spiritual Laws and Customs, Lex Scripta*, p. 54.

of Man; but *Cronkshynnagh*,^x the name of an estate in the parish of Arbory, signifying, in the Manks language, "the hill of the fox," implies that reynard was formerly a denizen of the Island.

According to my friend, Mr. Forbes, the only quadruped peculiar to the Island, of which it can boast, is the tail-less cat, called in Manks, "*Stubbin*," and in English, "*a Rumpy*." This is, he thinks, an accidental variety of the common species *felis catus*, frequently showing no traces of caudal vertebræ, and others merely a rudimental substitute for it.¹ There is a tradition still current in the Island, that the first rumpy cat seen there was cast on shore from a foreign vessel that was wrecked on the rocks at Spanish Head, but at what period no one pretends to say. A modern author speaks with more certainty by affirming that the rumpy is the genuine aboriginal cat of the Island.² As a mouser, the rumpy is preferred to all others of its kind. Formerly when cats were scarce in Europe, the rumpy would have brought a high price.³ In Wales the value of a cat was fixed by law, and the same regulation extended to the Isle of Man, when under the rule of the Cambrian Princes.⁴ The Manks rumpy resembles somewhat in appearance the cats said by Sir Stamford Raffles to be peculiar to the Malayan Archipelago.⁵ Of late

¹ *Natural History of the Isle of Man*, by Edward Forbes; *Quiggin's Isle of Man Guide*, p. 40.

² *A Six Days' Tour in the Isle of Man*, in 1836, p. 151.

³ *Sir William Jardine's Naturalist's Library*, "*Mammalia*," vol. ii, p. 243.

⁴ The price of a kitten, before it could see, was a penny; after it could see, and before it caught a mouse, two-pence; and after it had caught a mouse, four-pence; which was a large sum in the tenth century. It was required, besides being a good mouser, that it should be perfect in its senses of hearing and seeing, and likewise should have good claws. If it failed in any of these qualities, the seller was to forfeit to the buyer the third part of its value. If any one stole or killed the cat that guarded the prince's granary, he was to forfeit a milk ewe, its fleece, and lamb, or as much wheat as, when poured on the cat suspended by the tail, the head touching the floor, would form a heap high enough to cover the tip of the tail.—*Laws of Hywel Dda*, folio edition, London, 1730.

⁵ *Cuvier's Animal Kingdom*, London edit., 1827, vol. ii, p. 489.

years, many rumpies have been carried out of the Island as curiosities by visitors. I have had one in my possession for upwards of four years—a circumstance which has afforded me an opportunity of observing the habits of the animal.¹



¹ My observations on the structure and habits of the specimen in my possession, leave little doubt on my mind of its being a *mule*, or crossed between the female cat and the buck rabbit. In August, 1837, I procured a female rumpy kitten, direct from the Island. Both in its appearance and habits it differs much from the common house cat: the head is smaller in proportion, and the body is short; a *rud* or brush like that of a rabbit, about an inch in length, extending from the lower vertebra, is the only indication it has of a tail. The hind legs are considerably longer than those of the common cat, and, in comparison with the fore legs, bear a marked similarity in proportion to those of the rabbit. Like this animal too, when about to fight, it springs from the ground and strikes with its fore and hind feet at the same time. The common cat strikes only with its fore paws, standing on its hind legs. The rumpy discharges its urine in a standing posture, like a rabbit, and can be carried by the ears apparently without pain. Like every species of the *felinae*, it is carnivorous and fond of fish, and is an implacable enemy to rats and mice. My little oddity was six months old before it saw a mouse, but when a dead one was exhibited, it instantly displayed all the characteristics of a practised mouser. It has never had any offspring, although the common cat propagates its species when about twelve months' old. Indeed, on this subject, although I have made many inquiries, I have not been able to establish a single instance in which a female rumpy was *known* to produce young. My opinion, as to the origin of the rumpy, has been strengthened by a co-incident circumstance connected with this district. A few years ago, John Cunningham, Esq., of Hensol, in the stewardry of Kirkcudbright, stocked a piece of waste land on his estate with rabbits, which multiplied rapidly. In the immediate neighbourhood

There are, also, a few barn-door rumpy fowls in the Island, but the species is common to the Hebrides at large. Their eggs are said to be of a different shape from those of other hens, being alike thick and round at each end.

In the time of the Commonwealth of England, the king's forest was stocked with red deer;¹ and in the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Earl of Derby sent over fallow and red deer to propagate in the Calf.² The tide runs with such rapidity through the narrow channel called the Race, which separates the Calf from the mainland,³ that no vessel can stem the current, yet the deer so frequently made their way across this dangerous passage, and in such formidable numbers, to pillage the corn of the farmers on the mainland, whether it was in the field, the barn-yard, or on the shilling-hill, that these depredations were finally the cause of their extinction in the Island, as well as in the Calf.

The Manks hares are said to be remarkably large. Pennant, who visited the Island, remarks, "That hares differ much in size, the smallest are in the Isle of Islay, the largest in the Isle of Man, where some have been

of this warren rumpy cats are now plentiful, although previously altogether unknown in the locality. Not a doubt seems to exist as to the nature of their origin. I am afraid the known facilities which exist in the Isle of Man, for giving effect to this opinion as to the origin of the rumpy, may go far to dissipate the cherished belief of the Islanders, in its being a distinct genus. At the same time I am far from wishing my statements to be understood as settling the question. My opportunities of observation have induced this general opinion of their origin, but, as it is possible many local objections may be taken to its reception, I would willingly avail myself of any authenticated communication on this head, before the final publication of my work. I have no wish, apart from the discovery of truth, to deprive the Island of this, or any of its peculiarities.

¹ *Chaloner; Appendix Wood's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 26.

² *Sacheverell*, p. 6; *Robertson's Tour through the Isle of Man*, in 1791, p. 135.

³ The channel that separates the two Islands is about a mile wide; it abounds with dark hidden rocks, the passage made more difficult by a small Island called the *Kist-terland*, and the tide is so strong that vessels can seldom get through it without being driven sideways or stern foremost.—*Townley's Journal*, vol. i, pp. 60, 61.—[The distance of the Calf from the mainland is, we are informed, about 300 or 400 yards.—AUTHOR.]

found that weighed 12lbs.”¹ They are confined to the mainland; the experiment has been made of fostering them in the Calf, but the rabbits, with which the little islet is plentifully stocked, never ceased pursuing the timid strangers till the whole race were exterminated.² Waldron says, “The rabbits are in such plenty in the Calf of Man, especially in the months of August and September, that they may be bought for a penny a-piece, returning the skin, which goes as a perquisite to the Earl of Derby.”³ At a later period, the price received for the rabbits of the Calf amounted to about £140 per annum.⁴

The eagle had his eyrie in the fastness of Snafield in the time of Bishop Wilson, and the Scotch merlyn was an annual visitor there;⁵ but these, with the grouse which inhabited the lower mountains, are no longer to be seen;⁶ though when Robinson visited the Island, in the year 1791, “Partridges and moor-game were abundant.”⁷—

¹ Pennant's *British Zoology*, fourth edition, vol. i, p. 100; *General Atlas*, folio, London, 1721, article “Man.”

² Quayle's *Agriculture of the Isle of Man*, p. 120; Robertson's *Tour through Man*, in 1791, p. 135; *General Atlas*, London, folio, 1721. “So far back as 1584, we find ‘it was ordered and enacted, in pursuance to an ancient custom and privilege, that no person or persons of whatsoever degree or quality, except the Governor of the Isle and the Lord's officers, should be permitted without license to fowl or shoot out of any manner of hand-gun at a fowl, or hunt or course the hare with any greyhound, bitch, beagle, curr, or mungrell, willingly or wittingly within the limited warren or circuit from Castle Rushen to Kentraugh Burn in Kirk Christ Rushen, and following the said Burn up to the fell ditch to the north-eastward to Kirk Santan Burn, and so along the said burn to the sea side, and from the sea side to the Castle again, upon pain of fine;’ and to ensure the better observance of this order, ‘six honest men’ and ‘four soldiers, who were not ordinary hunters or fowlers themselves,’ were to reside in different places of the said circuit, and were to be sworn at every court to make presentment of offenders. The same prohibition extended to ‘a certain circuit or warren on the north side of the Isle, appropriated unto the Lord by his prerogative, for a warren for *Conies* or to plant *Rabbits* in, beginning at the burn-foot of Ballaugh, and so round about the shore to the Point of Ayre, and up again into Ramsey burn foot, which his Lordship farmed unto certain warrens at a yearly rack-rent.’”—*M.S. Statute Book*, p. 144.

³ Waldron's *Description of the Isle of Man*, folio 158.

⁴ Townley's *Journal*, Whitehaven, 1791, vol. i, pp. 60, 61.

⁵ Wilson's *Brief Sketch in Camden*, vol. ii, p. 1443.

⁶ Wood's *History of the Isle of Man*, p. 26.

⁷ Mavor's *British Tourist*, vol. iv., p. 130.

In former ages the Island was famous for its breed of falcons, and they are still to be found in the most retired and inaccessible precipices.¹ That noble bird, the peregrine falcon, so esteemed of old when hawking was in fashion, breeds in the cliffs at Maughold Head, and in the rocks at the Calf. Various kinds of hawks, as well as ravens, and a great variety of other carrion birds, find secure shelter in the inaccessible rocks which abound, as well on the coast as in the mountains. The game now consists, for the most part, of snipes, landrails, partridges, and woodcocks; the former breed in considerable numbers in the extensive marshes in the northern part of the Island. Landrails arrive in May and depart in Autumn. On their periodical migration southward, in November, the woodcocks rest for a time on the mountains, and again in February on their return to the Norwegian forests. Of the rarer British birds, the red-legged crow is common, the king-fisher not rare if sought for, and the hoopoe, the goat-sucker, the shrike, the cross-bill, and the roller have been killed in the Island; Manks specimens of many of these birds may be seen in Mr. Wallace's museum at Douglas.²

A person, more fanciful than prudent or kind to his country, not long since brought magpies into it,³ which have increased incredibly, and become a great nuisance. Although the wild notes of the woodlark have never been heard on the Island, the linnet and many other small singing birds are numerous there.⁴

The woodcock and snipe are sufficiently abundant.—Rook-pigeons breed in vast numbers in the high rocky cliffs all the way from Peel to the Calf; they are smaller

¹ *Onwald's New Guide*, third edition, p. 43.

² *Quiggin's Isle of Man Guide*, second edition, 1840, p. 40.

³ *Gibson's Camden*, vol ii., p. 1443.

⁴ "There are no pheasants, no nightingales, but small birds exceed in number those to be observed in any part of England, and the blackbirds, like the magpies, are a real pest."—*Quayle's General View of Agriculture*, p. 161.

than the blue dove-cot species, and of a much darker colour, being almost black, while their legs and feet are of a beautiful red, and their beaks of a yellow or gold colour. There is a strong colony of the pied-crow at Douglas Head, where they live and breed in great security. The Island likewise abounds with cranes or herons, called by the natives "long-legged-fishers;" and a gluttonous tribe of cormorants, which are held in great dislike, and into which we are informed by Milton, the devil transformed himself:—

"Hence up he flew, and on the tree of life
Sat like a cormorant."

The birds that build their nests and frequent the Calf, are thus described by a tourist who visited the Island in 1789: "There are such a mixed multitude of birds as no other spot in the universe can exhibit, for there are numbers so astonishingly great, that I do not know how to liken them, but by scriptural comparison, as the stars of the firmament, or the sand upon the sea-shore."¹ But of all the migratory birds that visited the Calf, down to the beginning of the present century, the coulterneb puffin was the most numerous; this species is called, in Scotland, *Cockandy*, and in the Orkney Isles, *Tommy-noddie*.² Their spies or harbingers generally made their appearance in the Calf about the end of March, seemingly to see if their former habitations were in good order, and after remaining a few days departed. In the beginning of May the main body arrived;³ and as if unwilling to take the trouble of making nests for themselves, they took forcible possession of the burrows made by the rabbits.⁴ The puffin hatches only one bird at a time, but if the egg be taken away, it will lay another, and even a

¹ *Townley's Journal kept in the Isle of Man*, Whitehaven, 1791, vol. i, pp. 58, 59.

² *Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*.

³ According to Sacheverell, they were only to be seen in the "months of June and July."—*Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702, p. 6.

⁴ *Willoughby's Ornithology*, p. 326.

third in the same place, which caused the Manks poachers to say, "That if the nest was not robbed the old ones would breed there no longer." The old puffins left their nests at day-break, and did not return till night-fall, when they ejected from their stomachs into the mouth of their young, part of the half-digested fish caught by them through the day;¹ by this oily substance they were nourished and soon became very fat. When they arrived at their full growth, they were drawn from their holes by a person furnished with a hooked stick, who, as a tally, chopped off one foot of each bird as it was taken. This was perhaps necessary as the annual number generally exceeded five thousand! On account of the flesh of the puffin partaking so much of the nature of fish, it was allowed by the church on *Lenten days*. In the Calf is also found the bird sometimes called the stormy petrel, and familiarly known to mariners as Mother Carey's chicken. It is not difficult to take it with the hand, but the attempt, whether successful or not, will be made at the expense of some unpleasant sensations; for the petrel has the faculty of throwing from the bill to a considerable distance a quantity of foetid oily matter, more than equivalent for the capture. The only other places frequented by the stormy petrel in our regions are the Scilly Isles and Berhou, one of the smallest of the Channel Islands.² It was a high infraction of the law, "To go into the houghs where hyrons do breed to take old hyrons, young hyrons, or hyron's eggs out of their nests;"³ and the like protection being afforded to the puffin was, in latter times, the grounds of so many prosecutions and the cause of so much perjury, "That the puffins," as the Manks peasants in the immediate neighbourhood say, "were compelled by a superior power to leave a

¹ *Challoner's Appendix; Wood's History*, p. 25; *Goldsmith's History of Birds*, B. vii. chap. viii.

² *Inglic's Channel Islands*, chap. iv.

³ *Statute*, anno. 1577; *Lex Scripta*, p. 66.

place where their presence was the cause of so much wickedness;" but they were in reality exterminated by a swarm of Norway rats, cast on shore from a Russian vessel, which was wrecked on the coast.¹

The only indigenous plant peculiar to the Island, that has yet been discovered, is the *Sisymbrium Monense*, or the "Isle of Man Rocket," which, in the Linnæan classification, is of the order *Tetradynamia*. It is a dwarf sea-rocket, with smooth stem, pinnatifid leaves, and erect pods.²

There is a great variety of marine plants to be met with in the several bays and creeks of the Island. During the summer season, they are tinged with the most beautiful shades of red, green, brown, and yellow; there are some of a blueish cast, but those that are tinged with different shades of red are the most numerous. The Island is only moderately rich in botanical productions. It may probably contain some five hundred species of the flowering plants, many of which, however, are of scarce kinds.³ The tangle cast on the shore by the sea is applied to various purposes of farming.

¹ *Townley's Journal*, vol. i, pp. 60, 61.—The red legged choughs, called *kegs* by the Manks, are very numerous on the Calf, although Goldsmith says they are only seen along the west coasts of England.—*Goldsmith's Animated Nature*, book iv, chap. i.

² *Miller's Guide to Botany*, Edinburgh, 1818, p. 120.

³ From Mr. Forbes's sketch of the Natural History of the Island, we subjoin a list of the rarer plants, with the localities in which they are found, viz. :—

Sparganium simplex. Ditches in curragh.	Lavatera arborea. Near Spanish Head.
Scirpus Savii. Douglas Bay. Derbyhaven.	Malva moschata. Sea cliffs and roadsides.
Juncus maritimus. Scarlett.	Linum angustifolium. Field on the cliff
Alisma ranunculoides. Curragh, common.	beyond Derby Castle.
Scilla verna. Douglas Head, and other	Radiola millegrana. Wet places.
cliffs by the sea, abundant.	Hypericum elodes. Bogs, abundant.
Polygonum rail. Shore at Derbyhaven.	Hypericum Androsaemum. Port Soderie.
Anagallis tenella. Bogs, common.	Crambe maritima. Near Peel.
Pinguicula lusitanica. Boggy spots near	Thlaspi arvense. Sandy fields.
Derby Castle and Banks's Howe.	Lepidium campestre. Common.
Euphrasia, a supposed new species. Fields	Lepidium smithii. Ballaugh.
by the sea at Ballaugh.	Cochlearia Grænlandica. Cliffs near Peel.
Verbascum Thapus. Near Miltown.	Erysimum cheiranthoides. Roadsides,
Hyoscyamus niger. Poolvash & Derbyhav	Ballaugh.

The shell fish¹ on the coasts and shores of the Island consist of sea craw-fish, prawns, scallops, razor-fish, limpets, lobsters, crabs, and oysters;² but the most singular marine creature to be met with on the Manks coast is the battle-cock. This extraordinary sea production has a circular place on its breast exactly resembling the sucker of a pump, by means of which it adheres so closely to its chosen spot on the rock, where it sits in the at-

Solanum nigrum. Near Seafield.
Lycopus europæus. Curraghs.
Pulegium vulgare. Marl pits at Ballaugh.
Lamium intermedium. Waste ground at Kirk Michael, &c., common.
Lamium amplexicaule. With the last.
Stachys ambigua. North of the Island.
Scutellaria minor. Onchan, &c.
Convolvulus soldanella. Point of Ayre.
Erythraea latifolia. Cliffs by the sea.
Carduus marianus. Sandy fields, Ballaugh.
Carduus tenuiflorus. Common.
Bidens tripartita. North districts, common.
Artemisia maritima. Rocks near Seafield.
Gnaphalium margaritaceum. Hedges near Ballacurry, Andreas.
Pyrethrum maritimum. Cliffs by the sea.
Helosciadium nodiflorum. Ditches, Jurby.
Crithmum maritimum. (Samphire.) Cliffs at St. Ann's Head, and other places.
Eryngium maritimum. (Eringo root.) North Coast.
Erodium maritimum. Castletown.
Geranium pusillum. At Scarlett.

Brassica monensis. Grounds at Castle Mona; in great plenty at the Ledn and at Andreas.
Reseda fruticulosa. On a wall at the Rectory of Ballaugh.
Viola montana. Common in the North.
Viola Curtisii. Near the sea, Kk. Michael.
Silene anglica. Jurby, rare.
Cerastium tetrandrum. Sandy fields in the North.
Cerastium arvense. Derbyhaven.
Spargula maritima. Ramsey. Peel Castle.
Sedum anglicum. Rocks and old walls.
Cotyledon umbilicus. Walls, everywhere.
Tormentilla reptans. Hedges, common.
Rubus saxatilis. Glen at Bishop's Court.
Ulex nanus. Common on heaths and hedges.
Vicia angustifolia. Sandy fields of Andreas.
Vicia lathyroides. With the last.
Ornithopus perpusillus. Sandy fields.
Trifolium fragiferum. Ballaugh.
Euphorbia portlandica. Wallbury.
Asplenium marinum. Rocks by the sea.

¹ Among the rare kinds which abound on the coast, are to be found the following, given by Mr. Forbes in his *Natural History of the Island*.—"On the rocks at low water live *Trochus umbilicatus*, *Littorina tenebrosa*, *Skenea depressa*, *Rissoa cingilla* and *Kellia rubra*; also, (though more rarely) the scarce *Velutina otis*. By the dredge may be taken *Lima fragilis*; *Astarte Danmoniensis* and *Scotica*; *Kellia suborbicularis*; *Chiton ruber*, *laevis*, and *fascicularis*; *Venus ovata*, *cassina* and *fasciata*; *Fisurella graeca*, *Emarginula fissura*, *Velutina laevigata*, *Fusus antiquus* and *corneus*, *Fusus Bamfius*, *Trochus tenuis* and *striatus*; *Isocardia Cor*; *Corbula inaequalis*; *Nucula margaritacea*; *Eulima polida*; *Bulla lignaria*; *Natica Alderi*, with many other shells equally rare, and a number of the more frequent species. In the river by Kirk Braddan Church is a rare form of the pearl muscle (*Unio margaritifera*) which was formerly much sought after by the natives for the sake of the pearls which it sometimes contains. Besides the shell fish, the neighbouring sea furnishes also many rare animals of the genera *Asterias*, *Ophiura*, *Echinus*, *Comatula*, and *Actinia*."

² Forbes's Catalogue of the mollusca inhabiting the Isle of Man and the neighbouring seas. Edin. 1838.

titude of a frog, that it cannot be removed but by some act of intentional force, or some accidental violence. It possesses nearly all the desirable properties of the turtle, abounding with a substance that is esteemed a very good substitute for the most delicious food, the green fat.

The entomology of the Island is not attractive, though a few of the rarer *coleoptera* may be found on the sandy district of the north.¹

The bays of the Island abound with turbot, sole, plaice, bret, flowk or flounder, with gurnet, mullet, mackerel, carp, and conger, also rock cod,² whiting, polluck or blocking, haddock, ray, bull-mort, sproad, salmon, dog-fish or *gobbock*,³ all in such abundance, that if managed with the same prudence and industry of the Dutch, might, in addition to the herring fishery, be a source of considerable wealth to the Island. The herrings make their appearance on the coast in the month of June, in vast shoals, and continue till October or November. They

¹ *Forbes's Natural History of the Isle of Man.*

² *Townley's Journal*, Whitehaven, 1791, vol. i. p. 148. Mr. Townley remarks, "The rock cod is a very beautiful fish, almost of a vermilion colour. Some people fancy they acquire that beautiful red tinge from feeding very much upon lobsters; but lobsters are of a blackish colour in the water, and only become red when boiled. I am of opinion the beautiful tinge is communicated to the skin by the red mosses and weeds which all the rocks are clothed with where the rock cod is generally taken.—Vol. i. pp. 291, 294. The gurnet is of a beautiful colour, resembling red mullet, but with a strangely shaped head. The people of the Island put a wily imposition upon strangers, by telling them 'They must not take the head of the gurnet, for all the fish upon it is of a poisonous quality.' In truth, there is no fish upon it,—no substance whatever except a shining skin as thin as paper."—Vol. i., p. 93.

³ "An old experienced fisherman told me, that the best baits they use for catching that odious, ravenous species of fish, are the embryos of their own young; that as soon as they lay hold of a female gobbock, they open her, take out the infantine young, and bait with them, by which they are sure of laying hold of the male fish as fast as they can let down their lines. How any human being can think of eating these nasty voracious sea-creatures is astonishing to me, and yet the common people here are exceedingly fond of them. Talking with a lady and gentleman, at whose house I was dining the other day, of that strange predilection in the country people for a food so disgusting to the very idea of others, they told me their servants would often request a little *fresh* gobbock, by way of treat, and that their little boy, only four years of age, preferred it in appearance to any other kind of food."—*Townley's Journal*, vol. i, pp. 233, 234.

first appear on the Peel side, where they continue until September, about which time they move round to the east coast, generally followed by the porpoise or great sea-herring-hog, called in Manks, the *Perkyn*.¹ The salmon ascend the rivers in great numbers in the winter months for the purpose of spawning; but comparatively few of them succeed in regaining the salt-water, owing to the numerous poachers who destroy them with spears. Trout abound in every stream not affected by water from the lead mines.

The transactions of the primitive inhabitants of this little kingdom are as deeply buried in the gloom of antiquity, as its geographical aspect is, at times, obscured by day clouds rising from the sea. Many of the actors in the opening scenes of its political drama may pass before the eye of the reader like the evanescent figures of a cloudy atmosphere; but I shall endeavour, in a subsequent part of this work, to bring them all as distinctly as possible into view, leaving the reader to judge to whom the well known couplet of the old satirist applied:—

When Sathane tryed his arts in vaine,
Ye worship of ye Lorde toe gaine,
Ye yird, he said, and all be thine,
Except ane place, that maun be mine.
Though bare it is, and scarce a span,
By mortals called ye Ysle of Mann;
That is a place I cannot spare,
For all my choicest friends are there!²

According to the venerable Bede, the population of the Island, at the commencement of the eighth century, did not exceed three hundred families.³ Hollinshead, in his

¹ This monster, from which we “now turn with loathing, was eaten with avidity by the old English epicure. Ancient cookery exhausted all its art in mixing sauces for this delectable morceau; and there was no entertainment of any magnificence, until the sixteenth century, at which the porpoise, either bodily or in junks, did not find a respectable place.”—*Warner's Antiquitates Culinariae*, 4to. Blamire, 1791.

² *Irvine's Historiæ Scotiæ Nomenclatura*, Edinburgh edition, 1682.

³ *Ecclesiastical History*, book ii, chapter ix.

Chronicles of England, 1584, says, "There were formerly 1300 families in the Island, but now there are scarcely half that number."¹ In *Camden's Britannia*, which was first published only two years subsequent to the *Chronicles of Hollinshead*, it is stated, seemingly with more accuracy, that the Island contained 960 families.² In the year 1667, it contained 2531 male persons, between the ages of sixteen and sixty.³ By a manuscript, still extant, in the handwriting of Bishop Wilson, the population of the Island in 1726, appears to have been 13,971.⁴ A roll made out from the reports of the parochial clergy in 1757, shows the number to have been 19,144.⁵ By the Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for the year 1764, the number of the *native* inhabitants of the Island had increased to 20,000.⁶ The population of the Island, as taken by order of the Governor in 1784, amounted to 24,924.⁷ The Bishop's visitation in 1792, shows the number to be 27,913.⁸ By the computation in 1811, 34,316⁹; by the census of 1821, the population of the Island amounted to 40,081; by the census of 1831, to 41,758; and by that of 1841, to 47,986,—thereby increasing to more than three times the number in 1726.*

For ecclesiastical purposes, the Island is divided into seventeen parishes; of these, three are rectories and

¹ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of England*; Appendix Wood, p. 30.

² *Gibson's Camden*, vol. ii, p. 1439; *Heylin's Description of the Great World*, edition 1621, p. 524.

³ *Wood*, p. 30.

⁴ When Mr. Quayle visited the Island in 1811, this document was in the hands of Mr. Stowell, then Clerk of the Rolls.

⁵ This account of the number of the inhabitants was made out by the clergy in obedience to the 12th Article of the Bishop's visitation.

⁶ *Report* p. 115, *Isle of Man Charities*, drawn up for the information of Government, and printed in 1831, pp. 52, 53.

⁷ This number is taken from the Report of the Parliamentary Commissioners of 1791.

⁸ *Agricultural Report of 1810*.

⁹ *Quayle's Agricultural Report*, 1812, p. 192.

* Appendix, Note ii, "Population of the Island."

fourteen vicarages. Consistorial courts are held by the Vicars General, by whom an officer called the Sumner General is appointed, and who is assisted in his duty by parochial officers called Sumners. For judicial purposes, the Island is divided into two districts, called *Northern* and *Southern*, which are respectively placed under the jurisdiction of the two Deemsters, or judges, appointed by the Crown. These districts are again subdivided into six sheadings, or small sherifdoms, to each of which the Governor annually appoints a Coroner—an officer who unites in his person the duties of a constable, a coroner, and many of those of a sheriff in England, and who is the active organ of the Deemster. In every sheading an officer called a Lockman is appointed to assist the Coroner. The Moar is another parish officer, whose duty is to collect the Lord's rents and parochial fees, and to take charge of all wrecks for the benefit of the Lord proprietor of the Island.¹

The chief towns in the Island are, Castletown, Douglas, Ramsey, and Peel. These will be particularly noticed in a subsequent chapter.

In the mountainous part of the Island, the language of the original inhabitants is still spoken by the natives.—The Manks is a dialect of the ancient Gaelic, differing in many instances only in a slight degree from the Scottish Gaelic. Of its “construction, texture, and beauty,” Mr. Cregeen, in his introduction to the *Manks Dictionary*, remarks, “It appears like a piece of exquisite network, interwoven together in a masterly manner, and framed by the hand of a most skilful workman, equal to the composition of the most learned, and not the production of chance. The depth of meaning that abounds in many of the words must be conspicuous to every person versed in the language.”

¹ *Sackeверell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London 1702, p. 2.

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER I.

NOTE I.—PAGE 2.

DIMENSIONS OF THE ISLAND.

Camden, whose *Britannia* appeared first in 1586, states the breadth of the Island to be fifteen miles, (vol. ii, p. 1439); and which is confirmed in the *Geographical Description of the World*, (London, 1659, folio 6.) By Maxwell it is said to be eighteen Scotch miles, equal to 27 English.—*Theatre of the World*, 1521, p. 187, *Appendix Townley's Journal*, vol. ii, p. 187.

"See what time can do!" says Polydore Virgil, "this Island of Man is now remote from the land twenty-five miles, which, in old times, was scarce one mile distant from Anglesea, and joined into Wales."—*Appendix Townley's Journal in the Isle of Man*, Whitehaven, 1791, vol. ii, p. 189. The account of its situation by Hector Boetius is equally strange: "Agricola, the Roman general, determined to pursue his good fortune, prepared to subdue the Isle of Man, but wanting vessels to carry his army over from Scotland, he found means that such as could swim and knew the shallow places of the coast, made shift to pass the gulph, and so got on land to the great wonder of the inhabitants."—*Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i, p. 92.

From the annal encroachments made by the sea, both on the N.E. and N.W. coasts of the Island, we have no doubt of the dimensions of the Island, as given by Camden, being correct at the time they were taken; but we are not inclined to countenance the assertion of a more ancient historian, that "Man has been separated from the mainland by the washing of the waves of the ocean."—*Paulus Jovius; Appendix Townley*, vol. ii, p. 189. The land, gradually undermined and swept away by the sea, is part of the most valuable soil in the Island. The remains of ancient fences, and traces of the plough broken off abruptly at the very edge of the cliff, give attestation to tradition, that the evil has been progressive.—*Quayle's View of Agriculture in the Isle of Man*, London, 1812, p. 104. The destruction is not occasioned by the sea acting in a direct line inward, but by what is called the *rake* of the tide—that is, by the current passing in a parallel line with the coast, scooping out and undermining the land in its progress. Its ravages are thus described by an eye witness: "The level ground along the beach extended a quarter of a mile farther in Bishop Wilson's time than at present; his favourite airing ground, where he used to go out in his old carriage, is washed away. In proceeding along, we saw several empty cells, and before we left the shore, we were so lucky as to see one laid open to view by a fresh fall, but it still retained all its furniture. We found, afterwards, seven or eight graves, in a regular range, laid open by the sea."—*Townley's Journal kept in the Isle of Man*, 1791, vol. i, p. 172. Feltham, who visited the Island in 1797, says, "Within these last two years, the sand bank at Bishop's Court has suffered considerably from the encroachments of the high tides."—Page 196.

The north end of the Island appears to have undergone the greatest changes. The oldest document perhaps extant, which bears any reference to the topography of the Island, is *An Account of the Extent of the Ancient Church-lands*, in *Johnston's Celto Normannica*, published at Copenhagen, 1786. In the second division of these, lands, woods, lakes, and islands, are thus described, now nowhere to be found:

"This is the line that divides the lands of Kirkercus from the abbey-lands. It begins at the lake of Myreshaw, which is called Hexanappayse, and goes up the dry moar, directly from the place called Monenyrsana, along the wood to the place called Seabba-Ankomathway. It then ascends to Roselan as far as the brook of Gryseth, and so up to Glendrummy, and proceeds up to the King's way to the rock called Craigeth as far as Deeppoole, and descends along the rivulet and Hedaryegorman, and so descends along the river Salaby to the wood of Myreshaw; it encloses three islands in the lake of Myreshaw, and descends along the old moor of Dufstock, and so winds along and ends at Hescanakeppage." "The lake of Myreshaw, called Mirescogh, was occupied as a state prison. Donald, a veteran chieftain in Man, a particular friend of Harold Olaveson, was decoyed from the monastery of St. Mary, of Rushen, where he had taken sanctuary, A.D., 1249, by Harold, son of Goddard Don, who had usurped the throne of Man, and by his order was bound and carried to the Isle of Mirescogh, in the lake of Myreshaw, where he was consigned to a strong guard; but, when sitting in his chamber there, the fetters dropt off his ancles, and he found himself at liberty."—*Johnson's Celto Normanicæ*, Copenhagen edition, 1786, p. 151. The lake of Mirescogh must have been of considerable extent, and well-stocked with fish, as Thomas, Earl of Derby, granted to Huan, Bishop of Man, in 1505, one-half of the fishing of Mirescogh.—*Johnston's Jurisprudence*, p. 233.

The names of places often outlast the language of the country at the time they were given, and therefore prove to antiquaries, what well known landmarks are to mariners, guides by which to steer through the surrounding gloom; but some of these hard-sounding words are beyond our ken.

Ancient tradition is likewise strong in support of the Island having been formerly much larger than it is now.¹ The native inhabitants say they have been told by their fathers that, in olden times, large fragments were detached from the main Island by internal convulsions, and thrown into the sea, as they suppose, by the power of enchantment;² and all that now remains of these huge masses are the Bahama Rig and King William's Bank, both dreaded by mariners as they steer along the coast of Ramsey.³

At the northern extremity of the Isle of Man was formerly a considerable village, which, in the language of the Island, was called *Balla-moar-cranstil*, or in English "Cranston."—*Camden; Heylen; Speed; Ap. Townley's Journal*, vol. ii, p. 187. A modern writer thus remarks, "The sea has made great encroachments on the town of Peel; but a few years back many well known properties occupied a site on the margin of the bay, not a vestige of which is now remaining. During the last summer

¹ The sea has, likewise, made deep inroads on the opposite shores of Galloway. In the year 1342, Duncan M'Dougal received provisions and stores from Edward III, to furnish his Pele or *fortalice* which he held out against the Scots. "This fortalice appears to have stood in a small island called Earthholm, on the coast of Galloway."—*Robertson's Scotland*, i, 624, 625, 629.—*Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 376. This island is now nowhere to be seen, which is likewise a proof that the distance between the Isle of Man and the Scottish coast, is yearly becoming greater.

² *Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, London, 1731, folio, p. 190.

³ These banks are thus described in *Quiggin's Mariners' Guide* for 1836:—"The Bahama Bank, or Rig, bears N.E. 2 leagues from Ramsey town, and is about 4 miles in length from S.S.E. to N.N.W., with only 6 feet depth of water at the S. end, differing in other parts, from 9 to 12 feet, and is rather more than $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile broad. At the S. end, Clay Head bears S.W. by W. 12 miles, and the Point of Ayre N.N.W. Westerly, 6 miles distant; the N. end bears from the same Point S.E. by S. King William's Bank is 7 miles in length from S.E. to N.W., and $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile broad: the N.W. end is E., $\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Point of Ayre, and N.E. 11 miles from Maughold Head, from which the S.E. end bears E.N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and from the Point of Ayre, E.S.E. 12 miles distant. The least depth of water on it is 18 feet.

(1835) two jetties were thrown up here, with the view of counteracting if possible the progress of the waves; but the only way of supporting the veto, 'Hither shalt thou come but no farther,' is by constructing a breast wall all along the shore below the town; some acres of land might thus be rescued from the devouring element."—*A Six Days' Tour in the Isle of Man*, 1836, p. 146. The *Historia Scotice Nomenclatura*, published at Edinburgh in 1682, also states the Isle of Man to have been of much larger dimensions than it is at present.

The situation of the Island and the distances from its headlands to the opposite headlands and harbours in the channel, will appear distinctly from the following table of the compass bearings and distances, as given by nautical men.

From DOUGLAS HEAD to		Miles.	From POINT OF AYRE to		Miles.
Skerries Light . . .	S.W. by S.	45	Liverpool Floating Light	S $\frac{1}{2}$ E	70
Great Orms Head . .	S. $\frac{1}{2}$ W	54	Whitehaven	E by S $\frac{1}{2}$ S	28
Chester Bar	S by E	60	St. Bees Head . . .	E.S.E $\frac{1}{2}$ E	26
Liverpool N.W. Buoy	S by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E	60	Maryport	E by S	37
Preston Channel . .	S.E by S	60	Dumfries	E by N $\frac{1}{2}$ N	43
Lancaster Channel . .	S.E $\frac{1}{2}$ E	54	Balcary Bay	E.N.E	34
Peel Foudry	S.E by E	40	Kirkcudbright . . .	N.E $\frac{1}{2}$ E	24
Ravenglass	E by S	40	Burrow Head	N.N.E	16
St. Bees Light . . .	E by N	42	Mull of Galloway	N.W by N $\frac{1}{2}$ N	21
From MAUGHOLD HEAD to			Copeland Isles, Belfast	NW $\frac{1}{2}$ N	38
Liverpool N.W Buoy	S $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	66	Strangford Lough . .	W by N $\frac{1}{2}$ N	40
Lancaster Channel . .	S.E $\frac{1}{2}$ S	50	From CALF OF MAN to		
Ravenglass	E.S.E	32	Mull of Galloway . .	N.N.E	36
Whitehaven	E $\frac{1}{2}$ N	31	Copeland Isles . . .	N	43
Workington	E.N.E	36	Strangford Lough . .	N.N.W $\frac{1}{2}$ W	29
Maryport	E.N.E. $\frac{1}{2}$ N	40	Ardglass	N.W $\frac{1}{2}$ N	31
Dumfries Bar	N.E. by E $\frac{1}{2}$ E	49	Dundrum	N.W	37
Balcary Bay	N.E by E	40	Carlingford Lough . .	W.N.W	45
Kirkcudbright	N.E	32	Dublin	W by S $\frac{1}{2}$ S	60
From PEEL to			Wexford	S.W by W	113
Mull of Galloway . .	N $\frac{1}{2}$ W	26	Drogheda	W $\frac{1}{2}$ N	54
Copeland Isles . . .	N by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W	37	Holyhead	S.S.W	45
Strangford Lough . .	N.W by W	27	Great Orms Head . .	S by E	54
Ardglass	N.W by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W	32	Liverpool N.W Buoy	S.S.E $\frac{1}{2}$ E	68
Carlingford Lough . .	W by N $\frac{1}{2}$ N	50	Point Linas	S $\frac{1}{2}$ E	42

THE PRESENT MEASUREMENT OF THE ISLAND.

Content of the Isle of Man, in square miles	209
Number of acres in do. considered as a plain, 640 to a mile	133,760
To which add one-twentieth for hills and dales, gives	6,688

Total number of acres in Man 140,448

CONTENTS OF MOUNTAINS.

	Acres.
East of the road from Douglas to Peel	16,449
West of do. do. do.	4,686

Total 21,135

Barren wastes	30,000
Intack lands	25,000

NOTE II.—PAGE 31.

POPULATION OF THE ISLE OF MAN

AT DIFFERENT PERIODS, EXHIBITING THE INCREASE SINCE THE YEAR 1726.

The Letters *p* and *t* signify Parish and Town.

PLACES.	1726	1757	1784	1792	1821	1831	1841	Increase since 1726.
Andreas, <i>p.</i>	967	1067	1390	1555	2229	2217	2332	1365
Arbory, <i>p.</i>	661	785	912	1143	1455	1511	1615	954
Ballagh, <i>p.</i>	806	773	871	1005	1467	1416	1516	710
Braddan, <i>p.</i>	780	1121	1214	} 5045 {	1754	1927	2122	1342
Douglas, <i>t.</i>	810	1814	2850		6054	6776	8647	7837
Bride, <i>p.</i>	612	629	652	678	1001	1039	1153	541
German, <i>p.</i>	510	925	} 2474 {	} 2505 {	1849	1791	1896	1386
Peel, <i>t.</i>	475	805			1909	1722	2133	1658
Jurby, <i>p.</i>	483	467	637	713	1108	1097	1063	580
Lezayre, <i>p.</i>	1309	1481	1680	1721	2209	2657	2323	1014
Lonan, <i>p.</i>	547	869	1219	1408	1846	1923	2230	1683
Malew, <i>p.</i>	890	1466	1861	} 3333 {	2649	2778	3085	2195
Castletown, <i>t.</i>	785	915	1318		2036	2062	2283	1498
Marown, <i>p.</i> ... ..	...	658	841	842	1201	1216	1318	...
Maughold, <i>p.</i>	529	759	1079	} 2007 {	1514	1341	1585	1056
Ramsey, <i>t.</i>	460	882	894		1523	1754	2104	1644
Michael, <i>p.</i>	643	826	980	1003	1427	1317	1376	733
Onchan, <i>p.</i>	370	434	560	690	1451	1482	2589	2219
Patrick, <i>p.</i>	745	954	1452	2153	2031	2195	2768	2023
Rushen, <i>p.</i>	813	1007	1451	1590	2568	2732	3079	2266
St. Ann, <i>p.</i>	376	507	589	512	800	798	769	393
Total	13971	19144	24924	27913*	40081	41758	47986	33097

* "These accounts are made up with regularity and exactness in general, though Governor Shaw conceives that from some superstitious motive many of the people do not like to give in the whole number of their families."—*Fellham*, p. 188.

In the year 1824, when the Duke of Atholl was about to dispose of all his remaining privileges and immunities in Man to the British Government, it was ascertained, by an account then taken, that the gross rental of the Island amounted to about £70,000 sterling. The present rental of the Island is said to be about £100,000.—*Lord Teignmouth's Sketches*; vol. ii. p. 414, London edit. 1836.

CHAPTER II.

WELSH KINGS FROM A.D. 517 TO 919.

Various opinions as to the etymology of the Name of the Island—Shown to be derived from the Celtic language—Mannanan-Beg-Mac-y-Leirr regarded by the Manks as the founder and legislator of their kingdom—Not a brother of Fergus II., king of Scotland, as stated by some authors—That he was the son of an Irish prince equally improbable—Apparently identical with Mainus or Finnan, descendants of Fergus I.—Early Manks History defective—Gallovidians and Picts, defeated by the Romans, take refuge in the Isle of Man—The Manksmen assist the Gallovidians against the Romans, and fight bravely—Voadicia raises an army in Man—She is taken prisoner in Galloway, and put to death by the Roman Captain, Cerealis, and her troops defeated—Brule, a Scot, Governor of Man—Maelgwyn Gwynedd, prince of North Wales, defeats the Scots in Man, and takes possession of that Island—His son, Rhun, defeated there by Aidon, king of Scotland, who establishes his nephew in Man, with the title of Thane—He is slain, and Beli, prince of North Wales, succeeds to the sovereignty of Man—Cadwallon defeated by Edwin, king of Deria, who conquers and takes possession of the Isle of Man—Cadwalader succeeds his father Cadwallon—Retakes and retains the Isle of Man—North Wales divided by the law of Gavel-Kind—Cynan Tindaethwy obtains peaceable possession of the Isle of Man—Mervyn Vrych marries Essyllt, daughter of Cynan, and in her right succeeds to the sovereignty of Man—The name of Mona formerly applied to Anglesea, now confined solely to Man—A hostile fleet from Mona enters the river Boyne—Rodri Maur succeeds his father in the sovereignty of Man, and being sovereign of all Cambria at his death, these dominions are, by the laws of Gavel-Kind, partitioned—His son, Anarawd, inherits the Isle of Man as his part—At the demise of Anarawd the dynasty of the Welsh kings of Man closes, having extended over a period of nearly four centuries.

ETYMOLOGISTS are not agreed respecting the derivation of Man, as applied to the Island described in the preceding chapter. It was called *Monoeda*, by Ptolemy; *Monabia*,

by Pliny; *Menabia*, by Bede; *Eubonia*, by Gildas; and *Menaw*, by the Welsh.¹ Cæsar mentions an island called Mona, that lies midway between Britain and Ireland.² Tacitus relates the circumstance of the army of Paulinus Suetonius coming from the mainland to Mona, the infantry in flat bottomed boats, and the cavalry by fording the passage and swimming their horses. The army under the command of Agricola crossed without the assistance of any vessels, and so frightened the inhabitants of Mona, by the boldness of such conduct, that they immediately sued for peace.³

A learned dissertation, tending to prove that Cæsar alluded to the Isle of Man, and Tacitus to Anglesea, was published in the eighteenth century.⁴ Mona was the ancient name of both islands, which some suppose to be derived from the Saxon word *Mon*, signifying *isolated*,⁵ to which Cæsar gave the Latin termination; but it has more the appearance of being derived from the Celtic language, a circumstance hitherto overlooked by all the learned expounders of that little word.⁶

It should be observed, that in analyzing proper names in any language, much must, of necessity, be left to conjecture; some of them are quite obvious; others, from being corrupted in pronunciation and then written in a corrupted form, are altogether obscured. The Manks, in writing their dialect of the Celtic, give the letters the same powers as the English. The Gael of Scotland, on the other hand, combine theirs ingeniously, to denote the va-

¹ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, fol. 773.

² *Cæsar de Bello Gallico*, lib. v, chapter xv; *Pliny*, book iv, section xvi.

³ *Life of Agricola*, Annals, book xiv. Sections xiv and xviii, evidently apply to Anglesea.

⁴ *Brown's Dissertation about the Mona of Cæsar and Tacitus*, London 1707, p. 152.

⁵ *Owen's Dictionary*; *Lambard's Typographical Dictionary*, p. 103; *Harrison's Description of Britain*, p. 37.

⁶ *H. Lhuyd's Description of Britain*, folio 17. It is remarkable that there is no mention made of the Isle of Man in the Saxon Chronicles.

rious and very peculiar sounds of their primitive and expressive speech. The Manks call their Island "Mannin," "In" being an old Celtic word for "Island;" therefore, "Meadhon-In" (pronounced "Mannin") signifies literally "The middle Island."¹ May this not be the true derivation of the name?

The Manks suppose their Island to have derived its name from Mannanan-Beg-Mac-y-Leirr,* who, they say, was the father, founder, and legislator of their country.² He is thus described in the Statute Book of the Island: "Mannanan-Beg-Mac-y-Leirr, the first person who held Man, was the ruler thereof, and after whom the land was named, reigned many years, and was a paynim—he kept the land *under mist* by his necromancy. If he dreaded an enemy, he would cause one man to seem an hundred, and that by art magic."

This personage is stated to have been the son of a king of Ulster, and a brother of Fergus II, the restorer of the Scottish monarchy;³ but it is known to every person conversant in Scottish history, that Erich, the father of Fergus II, was not an Irish king. He lived from his boyhood an exile in Denmark, where he died, leaving only one son, Fergus, who afterwards ascended the Scottish throne. Long before that period, the Manks had assisted the Gallovidians in their wars against the Romans, consequently this assertion has no foundation in history.⁴

¹ "Y or I" likewise in the Celtic language signifies "an island."—*Goodall's Introduction to the History and Antiquities of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1773, p. 13. The definition given by the Monk of Chester out of Gildas is more amusing. "The Isle of Man is seated in the navel of the sea, as it were in the very midst of all that the kings of Great Britain do command, even as the heart of a man is seated in the midst of his body. The comparison will hold very fitly, for the heart of a man is encompassed in a bag of water, called the *pericardium*, and therefore the heart of man may truly be called the Isle of Man."

* Appendix, Note i.—"Traditionary Ballad."

² *M.S. Record* preserved in the Castle of Rushen.

³ *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702, p. 20.

⁴ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i. p. 147; *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, 1736, p. 754.

That he was a son of Alladius, who was of royal blood, and that his own name was Orbsen, but called Mannan from his country, and after the manner of those ages, *Lear*, or "God of the sea," from his skill in navigation, I think equally improbable. *Lear*, in the Gælic, signifies the "sea" only, not the God of the sea, as Toland would wish his readers to believe.¹

It is, I think, much more probable that the great magician and legislator owned identity with *Mainus*² the son of Fergus I. king of Scotland; or else with his descendant *Finnan*, king of Scotland. *Mainus* ascended the Scottish throne, B.C. 290, fifteen years after the death of his father; his uncle Feritharis having, in the interim, wielded the sceptre. He had, it is probable, after the custom of that age, received his education in the Isle of Man. The traditionary character ascribed to Mannanan Beg agrees in many respects with that recorded of king *Mainus*:—"He was the establisher and cultivator of religion, after the manner of the Egyptians. He instituted several new and solemn ceremonies. He caused great stones to be placed in the form of a circle; towards the south was one mighty stone far greater than all the rest, pitched up in the manner of an altar, whereupon the priests made their sacrifices in honour of their gods. To the goddess of hunting, he instituted a monthlie sacrifice, by reason whereof this use was taken, that so soon as any of them got sight of the new moon, next after her change, he saluted her, which custom remained among them many hundred years."³

King *Finnan* succeeded his father *Josina*, B.C. 134. In the character of legislator, he is recorded to have ordained

¹ *Toland's History of the Druids*, London, 1726, p. 66.

² In the *General Atlas*, folio, London, 1721, he is, seemingly by mistake, called the brother of Fergus I, king of Scotland.

³ *Bættus*, book ii, p. 15; *Dr. Macpherson*, p. 314; *Groes's Tour in Scotland*, 4to, London, 1786, vol. ii, p. 206; *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, Arbroath edition, 1805, vol. i, p. 51.

that the king should make no important determinations without the consent of the people; and in that of founder, *to have first established the Druids in the Isle of Man.*¹

In either of these personages I think the reader could more easily recognise the real Mannanan, although stripped of the crude exaggerations of the ignorant, which, in the lapse of time, magnified him into a supernatural being who had the elements under his control.²

The earlier transactions of the inhabitants of the "Middle Isle" have reached our times in such fabulous confusion, as to bewilder even those who delight to wander in the tangled mazes of antiquarian research. Out of oral traditions and the songs of Seanachies, the first annalists have generally culled the materials of history; but the Manks, being a conquered people, changed their rulers with the passing events of the surrounding nations. It was not theirs to celebrate in song the valorous achievements of their heroes—for that is more properly confined to a victorious people—and it is, therefore, from the annals of other countries, more fortunate in this respect, that we must glean the scattered details of their history.

Four hundred years prior to the Manks account of the discovery of their Island, it had been the retreat of many political exiles from the shores of Britain. After the siege of Camelon, Vespasian proceeded to Galloway, where the people submitted to his arms. He then col-

¹Anderson's *Royal Genealogies*, folio 753.

²Magicians and sorcerers were always supposed to have the elements under their control, one of the "most noted and mischievous disturbance of the elements, recorded in Scottish history, occurred during the return of James VI from completing his matrimonial union with a princess of Denmark, in the year 1590. While all the rest of the fleet had a favouring gale, the course of the royal pair was interrupted by vehement storms. King James's subjects did not dislike the match; but sorcerers, who owe no earthly allegiance, employed themselves adversely, first in Denmark and then in Scotland, in exciting tempests: some vessels actually perished in this country, especially a passage boat between Leith and Kinghorn. Certain anomalies distinguished the conjurations practised for that purpose."—*Dalyell's Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Glasgow 1835, p. 245.

lected vessels for the purpose of transporting his troops to the Isle of Man, where a vast number of Britons and Picts had taken refuge; but as he was about to embark, having received intelligence that the people of the south coast had revolted, he altered his design.¹

On the arrival of the Roman captain, Ostorius Scapula, in Galloway, A.D. 54, the people rose in rebellion against him, and were joined by the Picts and such Britons as came out of the Isle of Man, who made such havoc in the Roman army, that it was an article in the treaty of peace, subsequently concluded between Cæsius Nasica and Corbreid, "That neither the Scots nor Picts, from thenceforth, should receive or succour, by anie maner of means, the inhabitants of the Isle of Man, who had done many notable displeasures to the Romans during the last wars."²

The warlike character of the Manks at that period ranked so high, that Voadicia, daughter of Aruiragus, king of the Britons, (who, after the death of her mother, had resided with her uncle Caratake, in the city of Carriek, on the coast of Ayrshire) resolving to revenge the wrongs she had sustained at the hands of the Romans, proceeded to the Isle of Man, where she raised a powerful army of the inhabitants and Gallovidians, who had taken refuge there. With this force she landed on the coast of Galloway, during night, unperceived by the Romans, who were encamped near Whithorn,³ then called Candida Casa. She attacked them with such fury before they were aware of her presence, that, for a time, they were thrown into great confusion; but the Roman governor, Petilius Cereales, who commanded in person, having a store of firebrands dressed with pitch, resin, and tallow,

¹ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i, p. 78.

² *Hollinshead*, vol. i, pp. 82, 84.

³ This is very probably the Roman camp which I discovered at Respan, near Whithorn, in the year 1820, described by my friend, the late Mr. George Chalmers, in his *Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 354, from a survey of it which I sent him.

caused them to be lighted with great rapidity, and continued throwing the brands in the faces of the assailants with such force, that their progress was not only retarded, but they were driven back in disorder upon the city Epiake, where the heroic Voadicia was taken prisoner, and put to death by the haughty governor.¹

If the Romans followed up this advantage of carrying their victorious arms into the Isle of Man, it is not distinctly stated by any of our ancient historians, although there is reason to believe they did.

In clearing away the foundation of a cross, which, according to the ancient custom of the Romans, had been erected in the market-place of Castletown, three coins of Germanicus and Agrippina were found carefully deposited in a square hollow, scooped out of freestone.²

There is still preserved at Castletown the remains of a Roman altar, exactly similar to some found in Great Britain, which appears by the inscription to have been erected to Jupiter by Marcus Censorius, son of Marcus Flavius Volinius of the Augustensian legion, prefect of the Tungrian cohort of the province of Narbonne.*



According to the old English historian Nennius, Brule, a Scot, governed the Isle of Man in the reigns of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius.³

¹ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 96.

² *Oswald's Guide*, p. 89.

* Appendix, Note ii, "Roman Antiquities."

³ The Brules or Brudes were kings of Albania for the space of one hundred and

In the year 503, there was a war in Man.¹ In 517, the Island became subject to the kings and princes of North Wales. At this period, Maelgwyn, son of Caswallon Law-hir, reigned in the district which afterwards formed the principality of North Wales. He, like his father, had pre-eminency of the sovereigns of Cambria.² He was the nephew of king Arthur,³ by his sister, and had received a liberal education under the celebrated Illustius.⁴

As remarkable in stature as he was eminent in valour—⁵ qualities which, in early times, generally commanded distinction and power—Maelgwyn proved not only a formidable enemy to the Saxons, but he even, with the assistance of his renowned relation king Arthur,⁶ made a conquest of the Isle of Man from the Scots. From this enterprise he obtained the name of *Draco Insularis*,⁷ and was afterwards admitted a Knight of the Round Table. In A.D. 552, he endowed the Abbot of Bangor, in Carnarvonshire, with certain franchises of land in the Isle of Man; for which barony and temporality the Abbot of Bangor was required to do homage down to a late period to the Lord of Man.⁸

Upon the death of Maelgwyn, his son Rhun⁹ succeeded to the government of North Wales and Man;¹⁰ but he

fifty years. The dynasty which commenced with Brude Boat terminated with Brude Urmund. Brude gave the Isle of Man to St. Columba in 563.—*Mac Culloch's Western Isles*, London 1824, vol. ii, p. 29. Sacheverell erroneously calls the person Brinley, in his *Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 19.

¹ *Johnston's Annals of Ulster*, Edinburgh 1786, p. 56; *Fordina's Scotch Chronicles; Appendix to Buchanan's Introduction to Knox's History of the Reformation in Scotland*, Edinburgh, edition 1732.

² *Rowland's Monastic Antiquities*, p. 185.

³ *Langhorn's Chronicles Reg. Ang.*, p. 90.

⁴ One of the primitive fathers of the Cambrian church.

⁵ *Randolph Hedgeon Gale, Scrip.* p. 225.

⁶ *Rowland's Monastic Antiquities*, pp. 147, 148.

⁷ *Warrington's History of Wales*, London 1788, p. 64.

⁸ *Monastic Antiquities; Lex Scripta of the Isle of Man*, Douglas 1819, p. 5.

⁹ *Rowland's Monastic Antiquities*, p. 187.

¹⁰ *Warrington's History of Wales*, London 1788, pp. 75, 76.

was called to defend his Manks territory by force of arms against Aidon, the valorous king of Scotland, who, having overpowered his antagonists at the battle of Laro in 575, and fought the battle of Aldery in 577, with Rydderch the king of Strathclyde,¹ in 581² carried his arms into the Isle of Man. Here, according to an Irish antiquary, he was victorious,³ and established his nephew Brennus in the government, with the title of *Thane of Man*.⁴ The Thane, however, was soon afterwards slain, fighting for his uncle against the Picts, and the Manks again became subject to the princes of Powysland.⁵

On the demise of Rhun ap Maelgwyn in 586, his son Beli succeeded to his territories, including the kingdom of Man. He reigned thirteen years, but little is known of him even in Welsh history.⁶

He was succeeded in 599, by Jago ap Beli, founder of the deanery of Bangor, who shortly afterwards gave place to his son Cadvan ap Jago. The early part of this prince's reign was distinguished by the siege of Chester, and by the memorable massacre of the Monks of Bangor.⁷ During both their reigns, Man remained undisturbed. But the next prince, Cadwallon, the son of Cadvan, being of a more restless temperament, carried his arms into Northumberland, against Edwin king of Deira. Edwin had been educated at the court of Cadwallon, but a violent animosity had of late arisen between these two princes.

¹ *O'Flaherty's Ogygia*, p. 474.

² *Lhwedd's Chronicles*, 1731, p. 142; *Collectanea de Rebus Albanus*, vol. i, part iii, p. 217. In the ancient Gaelic poem, "*A Bolcha Albain Uile*," Aidon is called "King of the golden sword."—*Appendix to the Transactions of the Iona Club*, vol. i, part i. p. 73.

³ *Annals of Ulster; Abercromby's Martial Achievements*, Edinburgh, edition 1762, vol. i, p. 131.

⁴ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, 1805, vol. i, p. 208.

⁵ *Rowland's Monastic Antiquities*, p. 187.

⁶ *Warrington's History of Wales*, p. 76.

⁷ *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, p. 372; *O'Vogan's British Chronicles*.

The Welsh king advancing into Northumberland against the Saxon prince, was routed by Edwin¹ at Weddington, who, following up his victory,² extended his conquest to Anglesea and the Isle of Man.³

After his defeat at Weddington, Cadwallon retired into Scotland, whence he proceeded to France; and having obtained assistance from the French king, he returned to Wales, where he overcame his enemies and regained possession of his dominions; but he was slain fighting against Edwin king of Deira and Bernicia,⁴ and his troops were nearly cut to pieces.⁵

A.D. 676. Cadwallon was succeeded by his son Cadwalader in the kingdom of North Wales and Man; but during his reign, and those of his son Edwal, and grandson Roderic Moelwynoc, Welsh history is silent as to the affairs of the little Island.

In right of the distribution of property which took place in Wales by the custom of Gavel-Kind, Howel, the younger son of the late king Roderic Moelwynoc, claimed the Isle of Anglesea as his part of his father's inheritance. This claim was disputed by Cynan Tindæthwy, the reigning prince, and his eldest brother. Two successive battles were fought between them,⁶ in both of which Howel was victorious, acquiring and retaining possession of the island. Enraged at these defeats, Cynan was determined by a vigorous effort, at every hazard, to recover his territory, and with this intent he again raised an army and marched against his brother; but Howel, seeing himself unable to oppose a superior force, withdrew from the conflict, and

¹ *Geoffry of Monmouth*, p. 372; *O'Vogan's British Chronicles*.

² *Dinwyder*.

³ *Matthew West*, p. 165; *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, chap. ix, p. 87.

⁴ *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, book iii, chap. ii, p. 104.

⁵ In the reign of Ivar, third prince of Wales, A.D. 688, 690, a remarkable earthquake happened in the Isle of Man, which much disturbed and annoyed the inhabitants."—*Pratt's Gleanings*, vol. i p. 116.

⁶ *Warrington's History of Wales*, p. 125.

escaped to the Isle of Man,¹ leaving Anglesea in the hands of the conqueror. Here he remained in peaceable possession; the Gallovidians being otherwise employed than to disturb his reign. The government of Galloway was at that time consigned by Ethfin, son of Eugene VII., to Murdoc, Thane of the province. Donald, Lord of the Isles, taking advantage of the defenceless state of the country, plundered the whole district, in which he was countenanced by Murdoc; but Eugene VIII., who succeeded Ethfin, defeated, took prisoner, and put to death both the Lord of the Isles and his confederate, the Thane of Galloway.²

Cynan did not long enjoy the fruits of his good fortune, for he died soon after, leaving the kingdom of North Wales to his daughter Essyllt, the wife of Mervyn Vrych, king of Man,³ who was descended by the maternal line from the house of Powys.*

On the death of Cynan, Mervyn Vrych and his Queen Essyllt succeeded to the sovereignty of North Wales, annexing the Isle of Man to their other dominions.⁴ In the early part of their reign,⁵ Egbert, king of the West Saxons, invaded Wales with a powerful army, and desolated the country as far as the mountains of Snowdon.⁶ He then advanced to Mona, and took possession of that Island. But it was soon recovered by king Mervyn, who, at the head of a large army, composed chiefly of his Manks subjects, succeeded in driving out the Saxons.

It would appear that at this time the ancient name of "Mona" was changed into Anglesea, or "The English-

¹ *Welsh Chronicles*, p. 22; *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, edition 1736, table 494.

² *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 131.

³ *Rowland's Monastic Antiquities*, pp. 173, 188.

⁴ Appendix, Note iii, "Forms of the Court."

⁵ *Warrington's History of Wales*, pp. 124, 125.

⁶ *Mathew of Westminster*, pp. 224, 227.

⁶ In Welsh signifies "Mountains of Snow."

man's Isle," by which it has since been distinguished, thereby leaving the Manks Island in the undisputed possession of the early name.¹

In the year 841, a hostile fleet from the Isle of Man entered the river Boyne, which is all that is known either of its strength or its object.²

Two years afterwards, Bethred, the tributary sovereign of Mercia, renewed hostilities against the Welsh, and in a severe battle fought between the two princes at Kettle, Mervyn Vrych, the king of North Wales and Man, was slain.³

Rodri Maur succeeded to his father's throne with a greater extent of territory than had ever yet fallen to the share of any Cambrian sovereign.⁴ He enjoyed by right of his father and mother the sovereignty of the Isle of Man, with the territories of North Wales and Powysland, and having married Augharad, the heiress of South Wales, the government of the whole province of Cambria centred in his person.⁵

Agreeably to the law of Gavel-Kind,⁶ he partitioned his dominions among his sons, Cadell, Aberfyn, and Anarawd ; the latter of whom inherited the Isle of Man.⁷

In 913, a battle was fought on the coast of Man, between Barred O'Kivan and Rysnald Mac Ivar, on the one part, and a numerous fleet of Danish pirates on the other, who made a descent at Loch-da-eaach.⁸

¹ *Roland's Monastic Antiquities*, pp. 172, 173.

² *Saxon Chronicles*, p. 75.

³ *Welsh Chronicles*, pp. 27, 28.

⁴ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, folio, London 1736, table 479.

⁵ *Warrington's History of Wales*, p. 141.

⁶ Gavel-Kind continued to be the law of Venedotia or North Wales till the 12th of Edward 1st, A.D. 1283, when, by the statute of Rutland, it was reformed in some particulars, and continued so till the 34th of Henry VIII, A.D. 1542, when, by another statute, it was wholly abolished.—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 22.

⁷ *Warrington's History of Wales*, p. 141.

⁸ *Johnston's Celto Normanica*, Copenhagen, edition 1786, p. 66.

With the demise of Anarawd ap Roderic in 913, closed the dynasty of the Welsh kings of Man, whose line extended over a period of four centuries.* If the Island then became a part of Danelaghe, the next chapter will show that alliance was only of short duration.¹

* Appendix, Note iv., "Welsh Line of Manks Kings."

¹ Sir Francis Polgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*, ap. Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland*, part i, p. 259.

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER II.

NOTE I.—PAGE 39.

TRADITIONARY BALLAD.

The following curious Ballad, which is now for the first time translated into English, was composed in the Manks language. The date of printing has been obliterated from the copy in my possession, which I believe to be extremely scarce; but the writer, as appears from the last three verses, lived during the time of Thomas, second Earl of Derby, whose landing in the Island in 1507, he describes. This earl succeeded his grandfather in A.D. 1504, and died 1522, between which dates the ballad has evidently been written.

ORIGINAL MANKS.

MANNANAN BEG

MAC Y LEIRR;

NY, SLANE COONTY JEH

ELLAN VANNIN:

SOILSHAGHEY,

Cre'n Mayll v'er ny *Mannanee* da *Mannanan*; kys ren Noo *Parick* esbyn y imman ersooyl as e Heshaght; kys hug *Parick* ayn Creestiaight; as coontey jeh ny chied Aspicky va 'syn Ellan.

Myrgeddin coontey jeh'n chied Ree va *Mannin*, as e Lhuight; coontey jey ny Chiarnyn; as kys kaink yn Ellan gys Clein *Stanley*.

The following is a translation of the lines as they stand in the Manks song, without any regard to the poetry in English:—

¹
Dy neaishtagh shin agh rish my Skeayll,
As dy ving lhieu ayns my Chant:
Myr share dy voddym's lesh my Vecal,
Yinnin diu geill da'n ELLAN SHEWANT.

²
Quol yn chied er ec row rieau ee,
Ny kys eisht myr haghyn da,
Ny kys hug *Parick* ayn Creestiaight,
Ny kys myr haink ee gys *Stanlad*.

³
Manannan beg va *Mac y Leirr*,
Shen yn chied er ec row rieau ee;
Agh myr share oddym's cur-my-ner,
Cea row eh hene agh An-chreestee.

⁴
Cha nee lesh e Chliwe ren eh ee reayll
Cha nee lesh e Mideyn, ny lesh e Vhow;
Agh tra alkagh eh Lhuigys troadit
Oallagh eh ee my geayrt lesh Kay.

LITERAL TRANSLATION.

LITTLE MANNANAN

SON OF LEIRR;

OR, AN ACCOUNT OF THE

ISLE OF MAN:

SHOWING,

What rent the Manks Inhabitants paid to Mannanan; and how St. Patrick banished him and his company away; and how St. Patrick established Christianity first in the Island.

Also, an Account of the first King that was in the Island, and his posterity; and how the Island came to the Stanley Family.

¹
If you would listen to my story,
I will pronounce my chant
As best I can; I will, with my mouth,
Give you notice of the enchanted Island.

²
Who he was that had it first,
And then what happened to him;
And how St. Patrick brought in christianity,
And how it came to Stanley.

³
Little Mannanan was son of Leirr,
He was the first that ever had it;
But as I can best conceive,
He himself was a heathen.

⁴
It was not with his sword he kept it,
Neither with arrows or bow,
But when he would see ships sailing,
He would cover it round with a fog.

Yinnagh eh Doinney ny hassoo er Brooghe
 Er-lhiu shen hene dy beagh ayn Kead;
 As shen myr dreill *Mannanan* keole,
 Yn Ellan shoh'n-ayn lesh cosney Bwoid.

Yn Mayll deeck dagh unnane ass e Cheer,
 Va bart dy *Leagher*-ghlass dagh bleiu;
 As eisht shen orroo d'eeck myr Keesh,
 Troold magh ny Cheery dagh *Oie-Lhoine*.

Paart ragh lesh y *Leagher* seose,
 Gys yn Slieau mooar ta heose *Barrool*;
 Paart elley aagagh yn *Leagher* wass,
Ec Mannanan erskyn *Keamool*.

Myr shen eisht ren adsyn beaghey,
 O er-lhiam pene dy by-veg nyn Geesh;
 Gyn Kiarail as gyn Imnea,
 Ny doggyr dy lhiaghey er nyn Skeeys.

Eisht haink ayn *Parick* nyn meayn,
 She Doooinney-noo v'eh lane dy Artue,
 Dimman eh *Mannanan* er y Tonn,
 As e grogh Vooijer dy lleh-chiart.

As jeusyn oolley dy row olk,
 Orroo cha ren eh veg y Ghrayse;
 Dy row jeh slught ny Buch-chrout,
 Nagh ren eh stroole as coyrt dy baase.

Vannee eh'n Cheer veih Kione dy Klone,
 As rieuu cha daag eh Boght ayn jee;
 Dy row jeh lhiurid Lhannoo beg,
 Dy dob rieuu dy ve ny Creestee.

Shen myr haink y chled Chredjue *Mannin*,
Ec Parick Noo er ny chur ayn;
 As Creest dy niartagh aynin eh,
 As neesht myrgeddin ayns nyn Gloan.

Eisht vannee *Parick* *Karmane* noo,
 As deag eh eh ny Aspick ayn;
 Dy niartagh yn Credjue ny smoo as ny smoo;
 As Caballyn ren eh anrick ayn.

Ayns dagh treen Balley ren eh unnane,
 D'an sleih shen ayn dy heet dy ghuee;
 Myrgeddin ren eh *Keell* *Charmane*,
 Ta ayns y *Pheeley* foast ny sole.

My dug *Karmane* er e Obbyr klone,
 Hug Jee fys er as hoar eh baase;
 Myr shoyn diu hene yn Chaghter chion
 Cha vel fer ain hed jeh lesh Saase.

Hoar eashyn baase as t'eh ny lhie,
 Raad by Vooar y treih ve cha leah er n'in st ley
 Croah dy Chlagh te'c e gha Chass,
 Ayns e Cheeill hene foast ayns y *Pheeley*.

Eisht haink *Maughoid* ayn myr beer,
 As ghow eh Thalloo ec y Chione;
 As hrog eh Keell as Rollick mygeart,
 Yn Ynyd by-vian leah beaghey ayn.

He would set a man, standing on a hill,
 Appear as if he were a hundred;
 And thus did wild *Mannanan* protect
 That Island with all its booty.

The rent each landholder paid to him was,
 A bundle of coarse meadow grass yearly,
 And that, as their yearly tax,
 They paid to him each midsummer eve.

Some would carry the grass up
 To the great mountain up at *Barrool*;
 Others would leave the grass below,
 With *Mannanan's* self, above *Keamool*.

Thus then did they live;
 O I think their tribute very small,
 Without care and without anxiety,
 Or hard labour to cause weariness.

Then came Patrick into the midst of them;
 He was a saint, and full of virtue;
 He banished *Mannanan* on the wave,
 And his evil servants all dispersed.

And of all those that were evil,
 He showed no favour nor kindness,
 That were of the seed of the conjurers,
 But what he destroyed or put to death.

He blessed the country from end to end,
 And never left a beggar in it;
 And, also, cleared off all those
 That refused or denied to become christians.

Thus it was that christianity first came to Man,
 By Saint Patrick planted in,
 And to establish Christ in us,
 And also in our children.

He then blessed Saint German,
 And left him a bishop in it,
 To strengthen the faith more and more,
 And faithfully built chapels in it.

For each four quarterlands he made a chapel
 For people of them to meet to prayer;
 He also built German Church, in Peel Castle,
 Which remaineth there until this day.

Before German had finished his work
 God sent for him, and he died,
 As ye, yourselves, know that this messenger
 Cannot be put of by using means.

He died, and his corpse was laid
 Where a great bank had been, but soon was
 levelled;
 A cross of stone is set at his feet
 In his own church, in Peel Castle.

Then came Maughoid, we are told,
 And came on shore at the Head,
 And built a church and yard around,
 At the place he thought to have his dwelling.

18
Ny Caballyn doardee *Kermans* noo,
De'n Sleih Shen-ayn dy heet dy ghuee;
Hug *Maughold* shiartanse Jeu ayns Unnane,
As myr shen ren eh Skeeraghyn coole.

19
Hooar *Maughold* baase as t'eh ny Ihie,
Ayns e Cheeill hene nesaht ec y Chione;
As y nah aspick hank ny-yei,
Myr share shiounne dooys she eh va *Lonnau*.

20
Connaghan yn nah er eisht haink ayn,
A haink *Maroonny* reesht yn trass;
Tad shen nyn droor ayns Keill *Maroonny*,
As ayns shen vees ad dy bra vaght.

21
Nlah Ihig mayd shaghey ny Deinney-noo,
As chymney mayd nyn Anmeenyn gys Mac
Yee,
Cha nheeu Fir aggliah voylley ny smoo,
Derrey hig ad fenlah Ree dagh Ree.

22
Myr shen eisht ren adsyn beaghey,
Gyn Doolinney ayn yinnagh orroo corree;
Agh goll dy gheddyn pardon veil'n Raue,
Er-derry haink eh huc Ree *Gorree*.

23
Lesh e Lhuingys hrean as Pooar y Ree,
As ghow eh Thaloo ec y *Laane*;
Shen y chied er qe row rian ee,
Dy ve ny Ree er yn Kilan.

24
Cha gooylmees dy ren eh skielley ec Purt,
Chamoo ren eh marroo ayn jee;
Agh aym ta sis dy daink jeh Sluight,
Three Reesaghyn jaig jeh Ree *Gorree*.

25
Eisht hank ayn Quinney as haink ayn Quail,
Haink towse dy Lheigh as Reill ayn jee;
Ny Keeshyn moorey as y Mayil
Vees dy hirrey dy bragh er Doolinney dy bee.

26
My ta red erbee jannoo Skielley din,
Cur-jee nyn Mollaght er *Mennanee*;
She ad by-vessey da'n *Ellan Sheean*
Ec dagh drogh Leigh 'yannoo ayn jee.

27
Eisht haink ayn *Ollister* mooar Mac Ree *Albey*
Lesh Lhuingys hrean dy braue ayn jee;
As er-lham pene dy by-voo lesh Foalsaght,
Cha nee lesh Dunallys smoo chragh eh ee.

28
Cha daag eh bio jeh sluight y Ree,
Mac ny Inneen d'ymmyrkey Kiona;
Agh an Unnane myr baare dod ee,
Hie dy hirrey Cooney gys Ree *Goal*.

29
O *Albanee* my vow uss feeu,
As dy Haghter oc dy heet ayn;
Cammah nagh durree oo as ve dy Ree,
Myr vow O ree, as Mac Ree *Laughlin*.

18
The chapels which Saint German ordered
For the people to come to prayers in them,
Maughold put a parcel of them into one,
And thus made regular parishes.

19
Maughold died, and he is laid
In his own church at Maughold Head;
And the next bishop that came after,
To the best of my knowledge, was Lonnau.

20
Connaghan then came next,
And then Marown the third;
There all three lieth in Marown,
And there for ever lieth unmolested.

21
Now we will pass by these holy men,
And commit their souls to the Son of God,
It profiteth not to praise them more
Until they appear before the King of kings.

22
Thus then did they live or pass their time,
No man that would molest or anger them;
But going to get a pardon from Rome,
Until there came to them King Gorree.

23
With his strong ships and king's command,
And came on shore at the Laane;
He was the first that ever had it,
To be a King of the Island.

24
I never heard that he did any injury at a har-
bour,
Neither did he kill any in the Island;
But I know that there came of his race,
Thirteen Kings of King Gorree.

25
Then there came Quinney, and then came
Quayle,
There came a measure of law and rule,
With greater taxes and greater rents,
Which will for ever be demanded of the men
that be.

26
If anything doeth you harm,
Give your curse upon the Mankamen;
They were the worst for the enchanted Island,
By making each bad law in her.

27
Then came great Ollister, son of the King of
Scotland,
With strong shipping he bravely came;
But I think myself it was more by falsehood,
And not by courage he made most havoc.

28
He left not living, of the King's seed,
A son or daughter to carry his head,
Excepting one, who, as best she could,
Went to seek for help to the King of France.

29
O Scotchman, if thou wert worthy,
And as a messenger when thou didst come,
Why didst thou not stop and be our king.
As thou, O king! wert son of king Laughlin.

30
Agh s'beg eh lhiam, dy veg eh lhiat,
Ny Fee 've rock, rock erakyn dy Ching;
Agh lhiag dooys loayrt Jeh'n Inneen gring
Neeayr as nagh daag oobio agh ee;
Haink Jeh Sluight Ree *Laughlin*,
As v'ee Inneen da Ree *Gorree*.

31
Chia leah as cragh y Noid y Cheer,
Nagh jagh eh roish as daag eh ee;
Myr yinnagh y Sowin choo rish e Quallan,
Eh saagall ny lhiel er Beggan Bree.

32
Cha leah as cragh y Noid y Cheer,
Nagh jagh eh roish noon gys *Nolbin*;
As ghow ish Lhuingys neesht myr beer,
As hie ee rhimbee gys Ree *Hoocyn*.

33
Cha leah as raink ee gys y Choort,
Ren eh j'ee soisagh dy seer choor;
As daa ny delney haink maree.
Hug y Ree palchey dargid's d'oor.

34
Nagh ren eh fenaght j'ee quol v'ee,
Ny cre vo hellkin gys e Choort;
To mish dooyrt un Inneen da Ree,
Errelah ve Spoilit as gyn Klannoort.

35
She mysh dty Vyghin as dty Ghrayse,
Ta mish nish lhoobey hoods, O Ree;
Cha vel mee gearee Mie ny Maase,
Agh gearee ort dty Chymney, Ree.

36
She dty Vea hoolin, dooyrt Ree *Hocyn*,
As ren eh poosey ish myr beeu;
Vee Sluight *Laughlin*, Inneen *Gorree*,
Rish Sir *William* dy *Montague*.

37
Eisht Sir *William* va Ree Vannin,
Cha hois eh jee agh beggan feeu;
Son chreck eh ee as ghow eh Maase,
O ree red bastagh dy ren rieau.

38
Rish yn Chiarn *Scroop* chreck eshyn ee,
O ree nagh moal hug saynt da Maase;
Ga ve ayns foayr mooar rish y Ree,
Gerrit ny-yei hur eshyn baase.

39
Agh fys nyn Goolshyn cha vel aym,
Lhiag daunesyn saillin fyfferee;
Agh aym ta sars er shoh dy feer,
Dy row lane Maase seihit ec y Ree.

40
Haink yn Ellan eisht gys y Ree,
Conaant *Scroop* myr shoh dy jarroo,
Nagh beagh ny sodjey echey j'ee
Ny veagh e vio-hys er y Thalloo.

41
Haink yn Ellan reesht gys y Ree,
As mooar y bree cha row echey ayn;
Hug eh da *Earl Northumberland* ee,
Agh cha dug eh ee da e Chloan.

30
But I care but little, that thou thought'st it
little,
The ravens to croak, croak above thy head;
But let me speak of the mentioned girl,
Since thou didst not leave alive but she,
Of all the seed of King *Laughlin*,
And she was daughter to King *Gorree*.

31
As soon as the enemy spoiled the country,
Did he not go away and leave it?
As the she greyhound would do with her whelp,
And leave him lying with little strength.

32
As soon as the enemy spoiled the country,
Did he not go over to Scotland?
And she took shipping, and to the best that I
know,
Went over to the King of England.

33
As soon as she arrived at court,
He entertained her with great kindness,
And to the men that came with her,
He gave plenty of silver and gold.

34
He then asked her who she was,
Or what her business to the court?
She answered, I am a King's daughter,
I have been robb'd, and without a protector.

35
It is to thy mercy and thy grace,
That I do humbly sue to thee, O King;
I do not ask for good or wealth,
But crave of thee for thy pity, O King.

36
Welcome to us, says the King of England,
And he married her very soon;
She was of the seed of *Laughlin*, the daughter
of King *Gorree*,
By Sir *William* of *Montague*.

37
Then Sir *William* was King of the Isle of Man,
But he thought but little of it,
For he sold it, and bought cattle,
Which was a pity that ever he did.

38
To Lord *Scroop* he sold it;
O King, how simple to covet cattle;
Altho' he was in great favour with the King,
It was but a short time until he suffered
death.

39
But their matters I do not know;
Let those who please prophesy;
But this I know right well,
That the King had a vast number of cattle.

40
Then the Island came to the King,
Scroop's covenant appointed so,
That he should have no more of it
Than during his life on earth.

41
The Island then came to the King;
But he had no great authority in it,
Because he gave it to the Earl of *Northum-*
berland;
But he did not give it to his children.

42
 Adsyn veagh dunnal ayns Caggey.
 Yloghe ad Ghootyn mooar myr bailliu;
 Agh ayns Caggey mooar *Salisbury*,
 Va *Earl Northumberland* er ny varroo.

43
 Quoi hagher eisht gys y Vagher,
 Agh Sir *Juan Stanley* coasey Bwold;
 Myr by-vannee haink er y Laa,
 Lesh e Chliwe geyre ve sheer goll troold.

44
 My Ree, by-veg er hene nyn Mea,
 Yiaragh eh Doooinney sheese dyn Glare;
 Varragh eh lesh un vulliey Shlely,
 Cabbyl as Doooinney gys y Laare.

45
 Cre dy aase veagh Claiggin e Ching,
 Gyn King cha ragh eh-aas;
 Ny cre by eillit veagh e Ghreem,
 Roashagh e Chliwe geyre e Chress.

46
 Tra scuirr y Magher, as gow eh fea,
 Eisht boggey mooar ayn hene ghow'n Ree;
 As dele eh huggey Sir *Juan Stanley*,
 Dy ghoall eh Leagh Jeh Maase as Nhee.

47
 Kyndagh dy vel us er my rere,
 Sheer coasey Bwold dooys, as dhty hene;
 Gow son dy Leagh *Ellan Vannin*
 Son Leagh dy hogher dy bragh beayn.

48
 Shen myr haink yn *Ellan* gys nyn Laue,
 As shen myr haink Clein *Stanley* ayn;
 As Ree lurg Ree freayal shln veih Gaue,
 As mooarane Bleecantyn Chiarnane ayn.

49
 Eisht tra hooar Sir *Juan Stanley* baase,
 Haink reesht Sir *Juan* geyrt er e Vac;
 Va mooarane Blein heear ayns *Neirin*,
 Ny Lieutenant feer ooasse oc.

50
 Eisht haink *Thomas Derby* Ruggerey Rec,
 Eh-hene va ceau yn Cribble Oar;
 Cha row un Chiarn ayns *Socayn* 'sthle,
 Lesh whilleen Gymman-giloon cheet ny chear

51
 En *Albanee* choilleen eh Clea,
 As hie eh noon gys Keel choobragh;
 As ren eh lheid y chladagh Thie'n,
 Dy vel paart ayn foast gyn Mullagh.

52
 Nagh bwaagh shen Dasyn Doooinney aeg.
 Yn Clea choilleen my by-voar e Ghraine;
 Roish haink rieu er o Ghob Faasaag,
 As e gheiney 'chur lesh as dy slane.

53
 Ayns un Thousane Queig Cheead as Shlaght,
 She ayns Mee ny Boaldiney ve;
 Ghow eh Thalloo ayns Roonyssvie,
 Er Boirey'n Theay hug eh slane Fea,

42
 Those that would be courageous in wars
 Would get great presents if they would;
 But in the great war at Salisbury,
 The Earl of Northumberland was killed.

43
 Who happened then to come to the field,
 But Sir John Stanley, well fitted;
 As that day proved a blessing to him,
 As he went by with his sharp sword.

44
 My King, he little thought of life,
 He would cut a man down without speaking;
 He would with one blow of spear,
 Take to the ground both man and horse.

45
 Whatever growth his head might be,
 Without heads he would not go away;
 Or however harnessed his back might be,
 His sharp sword would reach his girdle.

46
 When the field was quiet and had taken rest,
 There the King rejoiced greatly himself;
 And he called to him Sir John Stanley,
 To take his pledge of cattle and goods.

47
 Because thou hast served me well,
 And gained booty for me and thyself,
 Take for thy portion the Isle of Man,
 To be for thee and thine for ever.

48
 Thus the Island came to their hands,
 And thus the Stanley's name came in:
 And King after King keeping us from danger,
 And many years Lords in it.

49
 Then, when Sir John Stanley died,
 Then came again Sir John, his son,
 Who had been many years in Ireland,
 A very noble Lieutenant there.

50
 Then came Thomas Derby, born King,
 'Twas he that wore the golden crupper;
 There was not one Lord in England itself
 With so many *knee-guineamen* coming in
 his country.

51
 On Scotchmen he revenged himself;
 And he went over to Kirkcudbright,
 And there made such havoc of houses,
 That some of them are yet unroofed.

52
 Was not that pretty in a young man
 To revenge himself while he was but young,
 Before his beard had grown round his mouth,
 And to carry his men home with him whole.

53
 In one thousand five hundred and seven,
 And it was in the month of May,
 He came on shore at Derbyhaven,
 And put a full end to the commotion of the
 public.

54

Lheld y Thie as dreill eshyn hene,
Dy Ree ny Ruggerey dy hreg ny hrean;
Cha walk sleth lhied rish Milley Blein,
Chamoo hee reasht 'syn Earish ain.

55

Agh arragh dy voylley cha jean yms ny smoo,
Choud as shoote doolney scanish my Hooill;
Er-aggle dy dagher daue rhym y ghra,
Dy nee son Leagh vein sheer brinooille.

56

Agh faag-ym da'n nah Ghooiney hig my Yel
Dy voylley hene myr sheagh chur da;
Tra vees e Chress ny lhie 'syn oae,
Yiew'n Dooiney Bwoid myr sheagh cur da.

54

Such a house as he kept himself,
For a King, or down to a low degree,
People never saw for countless years,
Neither will again in our days.

55

But any more praise I will not give
So long a I live among men,
For fear they may tell me
That it is for gain I make so much flattery.

56

But I leave the man that cometh after me
To praise him as he will find him worth;
When his crest will be laid in the grave,
He will get the glory he deserveth to have.

NOTE II.—PAGE 43.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES.

That the Romans occupied Galloway, Anglesea, and the northern shores of England, thereby encompassing the Isle of Man, at a distance from the nearest point of not more than twenty-one miles, are facts established by history. If a doubt ever existed as to these conquerors having braved the Manks in their dens, who had done them "so many notable displeasures" in Galloway, (*Hollinshead*, vol. i, p. 84,) it must now be dissipated by the discovery of the coins of Germanicus and Agrippini in the foundation stone of the temple of Jupiter.

We know that veneration for the Pagan deities was transferred, along with their fanes and fountains, to Christian saints.—*Dalyell's Popular Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 91. Thus, when the heathen temple of Rushen was overthrown, a chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was erected on its site.—*Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, v. i, p. 130. The foundation stone of the Roman temple remained undisturbed; nor was it till the foundation of the second Christian church, erected on the site of St. Mary's Chapel, in 1698, was cleared away in 1826, for the erection of a third on the same spot, that it was discovered with its deposit of Roman coins, evidently placed there by Roman hands.

The pedestal to the altar of Jupiter is of freestone, similar to that found in Cumberland, and Bishop Wilson refers to a dark tradition of its having been brought from thence. When the first Saint Mary's Church, of Rushen, was taken down, in 1698, the altar, originally erected to Jupiter, was removed to the House of Keys. It was subsequently placed in a niche inside the castle wall, and latterly removed to Governor Ready's garden, at Lorne House, in the immediate neighbourhood of Castletown. By these frequent removals, the stone has suffered damage, and some of the letters have been obliterated. The probable meaning of the words thereby rendered defective, are thus restored by a learned antiquary:—"M.F., combined in one character in the third line, may very properly be read Marci Filius; and the remainder of that

line I would read *Filius* or *Filii Voltinæ*. In the fifth line I have read *Etensis*, having nothing but the stone before me, though I do not pretend to guess of what word either of these fragments may have made a part. Many corps of the Roman army had names ending with the syllables *etensis* or *tenses*. In the *Notitia Imperii*, among the 'Legiones Comitatus sub dispositione viri illustris magistri militum per Thracias,' there are mentioned *Divitenses*, *Gallicani*, *Augustenses*, etc. The next word in the same line I have read *Præf*, for *Præfectus*. The sixth line which immediately follows, has in the beginning, a charm, ending with *V.S.*, which is not easily referred to any word I know; but the *Co. h. T.*, following it, leads one to suppose that the preceding word might be *Præfectus*, denoting the chief officer of a *Cohort*. The remainder of the word which began with *T.*, being lost, we may conjecture that it was *Tungrorum*, of which name several corps are mentioned in the *Notitia*, and the name frequently occurs in such inscriptions. The beginning of the next line, which is indistinct, may have been the end of this word. There are two provinces of Narbonne, in Gaul, and the word here probably describes the country of the person who erected this altar."—*Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ii, part ii, edition 1831, pp. 499, 500.

The old fort of Douglas, which stood in the "bight of Pollock Rock," according to Waldron, (*Description of the Isle of Man*, p. 152,) was as old as the time of the Romans, and was probably built by that heroic people. The round towers of the Camp, at Richborough, in Kent, and those of Bingham in Suffolk, the only existing remains of Roman garrisons in Great Britain, exactly resemble, in every particular, the old fort of Douglas, which is, I think, an additional proof of the Romans having visited the Isle of Man. This remarkable structure, which had survived the crowding generations of seventeen centuries, was, by a gothic order of the insular government, levelled to the ground in 1818.

NOTE III.—PAGE 47.

FORMS OF THE COURT.

The Cambrian Kings were, by law, empowered to lead an army once a year, beyond the boundary of their kingdom, but they were not permitted to remain for a longer period than six weeks out of their continental territories.—*Warrington's History of Wales*, London, 1788, p. 149. This prevented the Welsh sovereigns of Man, prior to Mervyn Vrych, from remaining long with their Manks subjects; but that monarch having no inland dominions, had his residence at Rushen, where he held his courts till after his marriage with Essyllt, the only child of Cynan Tindaethwy, king of North Wales. His dominions being by that union united to Wales, he, in order to comply with the law, removed his court to *Caer Segont*, in *Caernarvonshire*, a favorite residence of the Princes of Powys.—*Rowland's Monastic Antiquities*.

As Mervyn was a lineal descendant of that distinguished family, (*Welsh Chronicles*, p. 22,) he strove to imitate at Rushen the splendour of the Court of Mathraval the palace of the Princes of Powys, in *Montgomeryshire*.—*Rowland's Monastic History*, p. 175. The royal authority was in many instances similar, and the court regulations were nearly the same.

The king of Man was the original landholder of the Island. A yearly tribute was made him of horned cattle, bacon, hogs, and sheep, with provender for the royal stud. Shipwrecks, and all other things thrown from the sea on the King's personal estates, became his property; but when thrown on the Bishop's or Abbey-lands, he had only a right to an equal share. Foreigners found upon the Island, without permission, became the property of the king. By the laws of Howel Dha, and of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, three sorts of persons might be killed with impunity: "Foreigners, mad-men, and lepers."—*Warrington*, p. 166. A toll was also paid by every merchant ship that came into any of the creeks of the Island, and if such ship was wrecked before the toll was paid, her cargo became the property of the king.

The royal guard was composed of the officers of the household, and twelve other gentlemen, mounted on horses provided by the king.

The master of the horse had a lodging near the royal stables. From every person on whom the king bestowed, the master was entitled to receive a valuable present.—To him belonged the riding caps, saddles, bridles, and spurs which the king had used, and laid aside. He had a deputy called the Groom of the Rein, whose duty it was, in his absence, to lead the king's horse to and from the stable, bring out his majesty's arms, hold the stirrup till he mounted, and run by his side as his page.—*Warrington*, page 153.

The early kings of Man had likewise their musicians, who were held in high esteem. They had lands allotted to them in Glencrutchery, which, in the Gaelic language, signifies "The Harper's Glen." This is a fine fertile spot in the neighbourhood of Douglas.

In the early history of all European nations, we may trace a family likeness, so to speak, as well in their religious tenets, their superstitious observances, and their forms of government, as in their domestic arrangements, that bespeak the whole to have been of one common origin. At a period when a foreigner might have been slain in Cambria or Man with impunity for appearing there without authority, and when one would suppose the manners of these countries to have been uncontaminated by foreign intercourse, we can distinguish many traits similar to those of the Scandinavian nations. Every northern court had its *Candelarii*, an office corresponding with the Canhwyllyd of the Welsh and Manks princes.—*Laws of Howel Dha*. "The *Candelarii* were young gentlemen of family, whose office it was to hold tapers in their hands while the Norwegian monarchs sat at table, and whose duty it was to see that the palace was properly lighted."—*Anecdotes of Olave the Black Prince*, p. 17. They likewise attended the funerals of princes. When Haco, king of Norway died in the bishop's palace at Kirkwall, "The masters of the lights stood with tapers in their hands, and the whole hall was illuminated."—*Account of Haco's Expedition, translated from the Icelandic, by J. Johnson*, 1782. Even at a much later period some of the Highland chiefs had their torch bearers. Sir Walter Scott, alluding to an ancient custom of his country, describes the masters of the lights with great vivacity.—See *Waverley Novels*, vol. xv., page 52; and Froissart, the French historian, in his account of the domestic habits of Gaston, Earl of Foix, says, "When the Earl came out of his chamber at midnight into the hall to supper, he had before him twelve torches borne by twelve varlettes standing before the table all supper. They gave a gret light over the hall."—*Sir Walter Scott's Essay on Chivalry*, page 58, Prose Works, vol. vi.

"The Domestic Chaplain" was likewise a person of some distinction, and the provisions made for him were somewhat singular:—"He shall have free lands, and the king shall provide him a horse, with woollen vestments; and the queen shall provide him with woollen garments. His place in the hall is beyond the fire, over against the king, and next to the column; to ask a blessing on the meat, and sing the Lord's

prayer. He shall lodge in the house of the churchwarden, (chaplain or parochus) with his clergymen. If any person shall offer injury to the court priest, or kill him, or go to law with him, he shall be judged by the synod, unless when alander is brought against him; and in that case, for that injury, the fine or punishment shall be xii cows, of which he himself shall have one-third, and the king two-thirds. For a private supper there shall be given to him a dish of meat, and a horn with drink. He shall have the tithes of the family, and their dead clothes. At the passover, he shall have the penitential garments of the king, with which he shall be clothed in Lent. He is one of the Triumvirate, who shall sustain the dignity of the household in the absence of the king. The Court Priest, the chief Fowler, the chief Huntsman, the Court Judge, and the Master of the Horse shall have horses from the king whenever there shall be need. The Domestic Chaplain's horse (as well as all the horses of all the principal ministers) shall have a double portion of fodder."—*Laws of Howell Dda, ap. Wotton's History of Wales*, London, 1730, pp. 18, 19.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 49.

WELSH LINE OF MANKS KINGS.

					Began to Reign A.D.	(Died.
Maelgwyn, son of Caswallon Law-hir	...	..	...	...	517	560
Rhun, son of Maelgwyn	...	...	...	...	560	586
Beli, son of Rhun	...	..	...	...	586	599
Jago, son of Beli	...	...	...	...	599	603
Cadvan, son of Jago	...	...	...	...	603	630
Cadwallon, son of Cadvan	...	...	...	..	630	676
Cadwalader, son of Cadwallon	...	...	...	..	676	703
Roderic Moelwynoc, son of Edwal, the son of Cadwalader					720	755
Cynan Tindaethwy	...	...	...	...	755	817
Mervyn Vrych and Eysyllt	..	...	...	...	817	843
Roderic the Great	...	...	..	..	843	877
Anarawd, son of Roderic	..	..	...	...	877	913

CHAPTER III.

NORTHERN VIKINGR, GORREE, AND KINGS OF HIS LINE,
FROM A.D. 888 TO 1066.

Aurn Konungr slain in the Island of Isla, by Regnar Lodbrog—Caithil Fin succeeds to the sovereignty of the Isles—Harold Harfagr succeeds his father, expels the Fylkis Konga or petty princes, and becomes the king of all Norway—His Expedition to the Isles—Dynasty of Ketill—Gorree conquers Man—Castle of Rushen built by Guthred—Rapid succession of Manks Kings—Naval power of Hacon—Danish Sea Rovers—The Manks join the Confederacy against Brian Borom—Glance at British History.

WHILE the princes of North Wales ruled quietly in Man, the rest of the Hebrides were either governed by their native chiefs or by piratical adventurers, in rapid succession; each of whom assumed the sovereign right of plundering the people with relentless ferocity.¹

Regnar Lodbrog, one of the most noted of the Vikingr who infested the Western Isles, landed in the island of Isla in the year 851, and slew Aurn Konungr, or Aurn king of the Gallgael, a term given by the Irish annalists to the Scottish islanders.² Mr. Skene is of opinion that Aurn is the person hitherto called Orree, the first of that name alluded to in Manks history, but of whom nothing whatever is known. It has been shown in the preceding chapter, from historians of acknowledged veracity, that the Isle of Man formed no part of the kingdom of the Isles at the time Aurn reigned in Isla; and according to all accounts I have seen, Gorree or Orree, the reputed

¹ *Gunnlaugi Saga*, by the Sculd Rafni Hafnise, edition 1775, p. 263.

² *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part ii, chap. ii.

founder of the House of Keys, did not appear in Man till nearly a century after Aurn Konungr was slain by Regnar Lodbrog.

Caittil Fin, the next chief of the Gallgael, of whom any thing is now known, waged war against the pirate kings of Dublin, but was defeated by Amlaf, in Munster, in A.D. 857.¹

After the death of Caittil Fin, in 880, the Hebrides became subject to the Norwegian Fylkis Konga, or petty princes, who had been driven from their country by Harold Harfagr.²

On the death of his father, Halfdan Ivart the Black, Harold Harfagr succeeded to the government of one of the little principedoms, into which Norway was then divided ; but, ambitious of enlarging his territory and adding to his power, he soon formed the bold design of uniting them all under one sceptre, and making himself as independent a sovereign of Norway as Eric was of Sweden, Gorom of Denmark, or Athelstane of England. What later ages have extolled as a laudable political enterprize, could only be viewed by the Fylkis Konga or district kings of Norway, in the light of tyranny and oppression. With their united forces they repeatedly met Harold in battle, but he was always victorious. The league formed against him was at length broken, and he became the king of all Norway, A.D. 878.³

The Norwegian nobles, although they had been defeated, were not disposed to submit to the sway of Harold ; they did not forget that they had been his equals in power, dignity, and descent ; and many, therefore, rather than yield submission to his yoke, fled into the Orkneys and the Western

¹ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1705, p. 60.

² *Torfei. Hist. Norv.* part ii, p. 49 ; *ap. Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. ii, p. 643.

³ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, 1736, table 590 ; *Schoening Norges Rikes's History*, vol. ii, p. 91.

Isles, whence they made incessant incursions on the newly erected kingdom of Norway, to harass the conqueror who had expelled them from their country. Harold, at length determined to put an end to the predatory attacks of these *rebellious* chiefs, by wreaking his vengeance on the islands which afforded them shelter; for this purpose he collected a powerful fleet, and in 888, set sail in person from Norway, "westward over the sea," making an indiscriminate slaughter of all that came in his way.¹

"Now watch-fires burned from across the main—
From Rona, from Uist, and Skye,
To tell that the ships of the Dane
And red-haired spoilers were nigh."²

When Harold arrived at the Isle of Man, he found that the inhabitants had fled over to Galloway, and had carried with them all their effects, thereby disappointing his prospects of booty.³ Having left a garrison for the maintenance of his authority in these distant Isles, Harold retraced his course towards the North, ravaging the coast of Scotland as he proceeded.⁴

He had no sooner returned to Norway than the Hebridean chiefs, who had fled at his approach, took advantage of his absence to revenge their wrongs by the expulsion or slaughter of the Norwegians whom he had left to hold them in subjection. These hostile measures induced Harold to adopt the resolution of placing a Lieutenant over the Isles, a measure which had already proved successful in Orkney. With that view he dispatched Ketill

¹ *Torfaeus's History of Norway*, vol. ii, chap. xii; *ap. Transactions of the Iona Club*, vol. i, p. 65.

² *Campbell's Rhymes of Horkriklosuis*; *ap. Enson's Ancient State of Orkney*, edition 1788, p. 10.

³ *Ynglinga Saga*, chap. xxii; *ap. Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, p. 65; *Johnston's Scandinavian Antiquities*, pp. 3, 4, 5; *Torfaeus in Orcadibus*, pp. 10, 11.

⁴ *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part i, chap. v; *Barre's History of the Orkney Islands*, quarto, 1805, p. 108.

Flatnefr, or Flatnose, the son of Biorn, chief of Raumsdal, with a large fleet.¹

Having brought the Western Isles under subjection, Ketill began to strengthen his power by alliances with the native chiefs, with the Scandinavian Resolute, and with the Vikingr Scotar,² or native pirates, all of whom paid him tribute and presented him with badges of vassalage;³ and no sooner did he find himself in quiet possession of the Western Isles than he threw off his allegiance to Harold Harfagr, and declared himself sovereign of the Hebrides. The dynasty thus founded by Ketill, about the year 890, extended from Man to the Orkneys;⁴ but it proved only of brief duration. He died soon after the erection of his new kingdom, and was succeeded by his son Helgi and his grandson Thorstein the Red. The native chiefs, however, were not long in embracing a favourable opportunity of expelling these intruders, and again throwing off the Norwegian yoke. Helgi and Thorstein joined Sigurd, the piratical king of the Orkneys, and assisted him in conquering the north of Scotland as far as the Grampians, where Sigurd died. Thorstein, the ex-king of Man, then assumed the title of king of the half of Scotland, and maintained his dominion for nearly six years, till he was slain defending his possessions in A.D. 900.⁵

While these events were passing in Scotland, the government of the Isles had passed into other hands. The next king we hear of is Nial, who was succeeded, A.D. 914, by

¹ *Repp's Forensic Institutions of Scandinavia and Iceland*, p. 162.—Mr. Laing has identified Ketill, the son of Biorn, as Carthula, the son of Sarno, King of Inistore, in Ossian's poem of Carrick Thura.—*Laing's History of Scotland*, vol. iv, edition 1804, p. 418.

² *Are Frodi*, an old Norse writer; *ap. Skene's Highlanders*, p. 2, chap. ii.

³ *Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. i, book iii, chap. iv; *Collectanea de Rebus Abanicis*, part i, p. 69.

⁴ *Repp's Ancient Forensic Institutions of Scandinavia*, p. 162.

⁵ *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part ii, chap. ii.

his nephew Amlaf; but I am apprehensive that the Egilla Saga¹ has confounded the former with Nial Glundubh, son of Finleath king of Ireland, who was slain in battle at Dublin,² in September, 918; and the latter, with Anlaph, likewise king of Ireland, who, after being defeated at Brunanburgh, in 938; by Athelstane, the Saxon king, fled to Ireland, and on his way plundered 'the Isle of Man.'³

It is the duty of an historian to place before his readers facts as they appear to have occurred, and in every instance to show the authority on which his statements are founded. The earliest writers who allude to the conquest of Man by Orree or Gorree, appear to have had only oral tradition for their guide; but they all agree as far as I have been able to discover, that he arrived in Man early in the tenth century, "With a fleet of strong ships, worthy of being under the command of such a powerful king."⁴

It is reported by oral tradition, that on Gorree's landing at the Laane, on a clear evening, he was met on the beach by a deputation of the inhabitants, who had assembled at a distance. One of the deputation demanded whence he came. "That is the way to my country," he replied, pointing to the galaxy or milky-way; and even at the present time this celestial phenomenon is only known to the native Manks, as "Raad mooar ree Goree;" that is, "The great road of king Gorree."⁵ Whether

¹ *Ap. Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part ii, chap. ii.

² *O'Donovan's Translation of the Annals of the Four Masters; ap. Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 61.

³ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i, pp. 288, 289; *Burton's History of Scotland*, Westminster, edition 1813, p. 64.

⁴ *Manks History of the Isle of Man*. In a MS. of unknown antiquity, in the Castle of Rushen, with a copy of which I have been favoured through the kindness of Dr. Underwood of Castletown, there occurs the following passage:—"And there came a son of the king of Denmark, who conquered the land, and was the first that was called king Orree, and after him remained twelve of that stock of kings."

⁵ Gorree, or as he is more generally called Orree, is supposed to be an abbreviation of Goddard or Godfrey. Some of the chieftains of the Isles claim to be of the same race of Gorree, particularly the Mc. Goaries, or as it is spelled in modern times, Mc.

he wished his future subjects to understand thereby, that he had descended direct from heaven or had come from a country at the apparent extremity of the galaxy, tradition does not inform us.¹

The kingdoms of Denmark and Norway were not united till Haquin, the sixth king of Norway, married Margaret, Queen of Denmark, in 1344. It is thus evident that he was not the son of "a king of Denmark and Norway," as stated by a late writer on the subject,² as these kingdoms were not united till centuries after Gorree's arrival in Man. That he was even of the race of the Danish, Swedish, or Norwegian kings, does not appear from history.³

From these circumstances it may be inferred, that if he was really of royal extraction, it must have been only in a remote degree. He is said to have conquered the Orcades and Hebrides,⁴ before he fixed the seat of his government in the Isle of Man.

There is reason to presume that he was a native of Scandinavia, from the circumstance of his having divided Man into Sheadings, on the principle of the *Godirics* of the Icelanders.⁵

Though Gorree seized the reigns of government by the hand of violence, the inhabitants of Mona suppose themselves to be indebted to him for the first formation of those constitutional representatives call *Taxiari*,⁶ signify-

Quarries.—See *Dean Monro*. Castle Corry, in the parish of St. Maughold is supposed to have derived its name from its having been the residence of Orree; but places compounded of his name are to be met with in various parts of the Island, such as Orrisdale, Orristal, Orrismount, and Ballagorree. In the Swedish or old Gothic language, *Orie* signifies a black cock.—*Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, section iv. In the Manks language. *Ree* signifies "king;" *Or-ree* may therefore signify *King Or*.

¹ The Norwegians call the milky way "the road to winter."—*Malet's Northern Antiquities*, London, 1770, vol. i, p. 355.

² *Wood's History of Man*, p. 330.

³ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, 1736, tables 550, 587, 588, 589.

⁴ *Wood's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 330.

⁵ *Repp's Forensic Institutions of Scandinavia and Iceland*, Edinburgh 1832, p. 170.

⁶ *Lex Scripta of the Isle of Man*, Douglas, 1819, p. 16.

ing pledges or hostages, and subsequently called *Keys*. Watch and Ward, on pain of death, was likewise established in king Gorree's day,¹ and the laws of the Island were then first committed to writing.²

A.D. 947. Gorree was succeeded, as king of Man, by his son Guthred, who commenced building the castle of Rushen, which was finished A.D. 960, and in which he lies buried. Nothing further is known of him with certainty.

Reginald, his son, next ascended the throne of Man. He was reputed a magician; and even attempted, it is said, to build a bridge across the channel, from the Point of Ayre to Burrough Head, in Galloway. Regarding this, many traditions are yet related, both by the Manks and Gallovidian peasantry. Reginald is reported to have been slain by an officer in his army, whose sister he had seduced. ✓

A.D. 960. Olave, his son, was the next king of Man. He opposed Sidric Cam, *the stooped*, in battle, and shot him through the thigh with an arrow.³ Olave having ascended the throne of the Isles without acknowledging the superiority of the Norwegian monarch, a right claimed even at that early period, was invited to the court of Harald II., called *Grafeld*, then on the throne of Norway; but as soon as he set foot on shore, he was seized and thrown into prison, and being condemned by "The assembly of the Gulathing," was executed as a traitor. Harald Grafeld had in his turn refused to pay tribute to the Danes, and they therefore sent a fleet and army to force him into obedience; but to avert the power of his rival, the Danish king, we are told that he sacrificed his two sons to the devil, and "thereby," add the superstitious writers of the day, "he obtained a tempest that dispersed the Danish fleet."⁴

¹ *MS. Statute Book of the Island*, folios 13, 46, 48, 51, confirmed by Statutes, anno. 1595, 1611, and 1614.

² *Lex Scripta*, p. 16.

³ *O'Donovan's Translation of the Annals of the Four Masters*, Dublin, 1832.

⁴ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 590.

A rapid succession of kings of the race of Gorree now follows on the throne of Man. Olain the brother of the last monarch died in Ireland, but not from the cause stated by Sacheverell.¹ He was slain by Aongus Mac Doony.² Allan, who succeeded Olain, was a bad character, and is said to have died by poison. Fingall the son, and Goddard the grandson of Allan, likewise filled the throne of Man; all which appears to have happened in the space of fourteen years.

A.D. 974. Gorree died about 940, and it is established on the authority of many historians, that Macon was king of Man in 974. He was one of the eight princes who rowed king Edgar on the Dee in a stately barge built for the occasion. Edgar himself held the rudder to testify his superiority over the rest. These princes were Kenneth III. king of Scotland; Malcolm, king of Cumberland; Macon, or more properly Hacon, king of Man and the Isles, and five petty kings of the Britons.³ We have already seen that even at this early period, the Manks kings were vassals of Norway; and it would appear from the circumstances which I have just stated, that they also acknowledged a dependance on the king of England.

Hacon stood so high in the esteem of Edgar, on account of his great naval acquirements, that he was honoured with the third oar, to give him precedence over the other five; and when Edgar made the memorable confirmation of the charter of Glastonbury, Hacon subscribed that document immediately after the king of Scotland.⁴

King Hacon sailed round the isles of Britain with a fleet of 3600 vessels,⁵ in order to clear the seas of the

¹ *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702, p. 26.

² *Johnstone's Celto Normannicæ*, p. 24.

³ *Hume's History England*, chap. ii; *Campbell's Naval History of Great Britain*, edition 1813, vol. i, p. 48; *Abercromby's Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*, edition 1762, vol. i, pp. 185, 186.

⁴ *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 28.

⁵ *Speelman's Chronicles*.—For this extravagant number of ships, see *Hoveden*, p. 426; *Flor. Wigon*, p. 607; *Abbott's Rieval*, p. 360; *Bompton*, p. 869.

northern rovers, who at that time harassed our shores. Well might Hacon be numbered among the admirals of the British Isles, if he could command such a fleet as historians have placed under his control. Well, indeed, might he be termed the prince of seamen !

Hacon had appositely for his armorial bearing, a ship with the sails furled, and the motto *Rex Mannæ et Insularum*, which continued to be the ensign of the kings of Man till the time of the Scottish conquest, when the three legs were resumed.

By the Irish annalists, Hacon is called the son of Aralt or Harald, and grandson of Sitric, so that he appears to have been the successor of Aulaf or Olain.—Sacheverell says that Maceus was succeeded by his son Syrach ;¹ but according to Mr. Skene, he was succeeded by his brother Goddard or Godfrey Mac Arill.²

A.D. 988. During the reign of Goddard, the Manks were grievously harassed by the unexampled depredations of the Danish sea-rovers, who, we are told, were trained from infancy to be the scourges of the human race.³ Olave, the piratical son of Triggo, king of Norway, after plundering the coast of Northumberland, arrived at the Isle of Man, where he defeated king Goddard in battle, in which a thousand men were slain. Olave, who was prodigal of gold, instituted many warlike exercises in Man.⁴

Prince Sigurd, another of the predatory sea-kings of the north, with his companions Karius and Nailsonii, steered towards the south, and landed in Sutherland, where they were stoutly opposed by the Comites at Dungalmipia ; but obtaining much booty, they proceeded to Ross. At a sumptuous banquet there, Sigurd presented to Karius a golden-headed spear, taken from the Scots ;⁵ to Helgus, a

¹ *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 28.

² *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, p. ii, chap. ii.

³ *Olavus Magnus's History of the Northern Nations*, London, 1658, p. 106.

⁴ *Annals of Ulster*, ap. *Johnston's Celta Scandicæ*, Copenhagen, 1786, p. 67.

⁵ *Johnston's Scandinavian Antiquities*, pp. 86, 87, 88, 89.

bracelet and a robe ; and to Girus a sword and a shield, as rewards for their bravery. These pirates then took leave of the prince, and steered through the Hebrides, till at length they arrived at Man, where they overcame king Goddard in battle. Having secured much booty, they returned to Ross, and took up their winter quarters with prince Sigurd. They returned to Man in the following summer, and fought another battle with Goddard, in which his son Dungall was slain.

A.D. 989. According to Ware, Goddard was slain by the Dalriadins.¹ By Mr. Skene's account, however, Goddard, a Dane, was king of Man, in 996.² He was succeeded by his son Reginald, during whose reign the Isles were conquered by Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, and ruled under him by Gillie, styled Iral of the Sudereys ; but they were re-conquered by Kenneth, the son of Goddard, and brother of Reginald, the reigning king of Man. In this enterprise, Kenneth appears to have been slain, as, on the death of Reginald, 1004, his son Suibne succeeded to the throne of the Isles.³

Brian Boiroidhe, or Borom, the great king of Ireland, who hospitably entertained three thousand persons daily at his board,⁴ concerted measures for expelling the Norsemen⁵ from Ireland ; but Sitric, king of the Danes of Dublin, timeously discovered the plot, and, ere the Irish were aware, called to his assistance the Danes of the Isle of Man, and the Hebrides.⁶

¹ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 63.

² *Skene's MS. Chronological Table*.

³ *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part ii, chap. ii.

⁴ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 528.

⁵ Danes and Norwegians were frequently called by the native Irish, Norsemen, that is, men of the north—sometimes Ostmen, denoting the men of the east, relating to the place of their residence in Ireland. These names were likewise divided into Dugalls and Fingalls, the former meaning the black, and the latter the white foreigners.—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 19.

⁶ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, edition 1705, p. 63 ; *Keating's General History of Ireland*, part ii.—This affords a clear proof that the Scandinavians were in posses-

The Danes of Dublin and those of the Hebrides had always lived on the most friendly terms, and in this instance they were not slow in rendering the assistance required. Suibne, by virtue of the "War Arrow,"* collected his forces with great expedition from the Out-Isles, and placed his fleet under the command of Brodar, a Danish Prince, who was afterwards joined in the Liffey by Carol Kanute, son of the king of Denmark, with 1400 men. As they advanced to Clontarf, where the Irish had taken up their position, they were also joined by Maelmordha, at the head of a still more numerous army.

One division of the Norsemen were clad in coats of mail from head to foot.¹ Their appearance is thus described as they were at first observed by the advanced guard of the Irish army:—"A vast multitude is moving towards us," said the orderly officer to Brian Borom. "What sort of people are they?" enquired Brian. "They are green, naked people," answered the officer. "Oh!" replied the king, "they are the Danes in armour."²

The arms and accoutrements of the Irish soldiers consisted of a helmet of leather, a skeine or large knife, a battle axe, and a long spear; and, lest they might be caught in flight by an enemy, they had their heads shaven behind.³

sion of Man and the other western Isles, before the era assigned by some of the Scottish historians, and Irish annals.—*Macpherson's Critical Dissertations on the Origin of the Ancient Caledonians*, p. 251.

* Appendix, Note i, "War-Arrow."

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*.

² *Hardiman's Translation of the Leabhar Oiris*.

³ *Saxo Grammaticus, Danica*, lib. v.—"When the Irish go to battle they say certain prayers or charms to their swords, making crosses therewith upon the earth and thrusting the points of their blades into the ground, thinking thereby to have better success in battle."—*Spencer's View of the State of Ireland*, ap. *Lithgow's Travels*, Leith, 1814, pp. 341, 342. Giraldus Cambrensis thus speaks of the havoc made by the Irish with the battle-axe:—"They hold the axe with one hand, the thumb being stretched along the handle to direct the blow, from which neither the helmet can defend the head nor the iron mail the rest of the body. Whence it happens that the

A.D. 1014. The battle of Clontorf commenced at sunrise, and the onset was terrible. Never was greater determination or animosity displayed in battle. The soldiers fought man to man, and the victors in one rank fell victims in the next. Not a man of the mailed warriors survived the sanguinary contest.¹ The commanders on both sides performed prodigies of valour; but the greater part of them were also slain. Carol Kanute fell by the hand of the son of Mologh, the son of the Irish king. Brodar engaged in single combat with Brian Borom, and both fell in the deadly strife. Only a few men of the insular levies returned to the Out-Isles, or to Man.²

A.D. 1034. Suibne, the son of Kenneth, reigned over the Isles till 1034. As his death happened in the year of the conquest of the Isles by Torfinn, Earl of Orkney,³ Mr. Skene is of opinion that he was slain in the unsuccessful defence of his territories.⁴

A.D. 1035. Sitric Mac Amlaisich, king of Dublin, was this year driven by Torfinn, Earl of Orkney, to take refuge in the Isle of Man.

A.D. 1040. In this year Harold king of Man died at Duncha in Ireland.⁵

A.D. 1052. Eachmarcach, the son of Reginald king of the Danes, was driven from Dublin, by Dermid, son of Mailnambo king of Inisgall, Dublin, and Munster, and took refuge in the Isle of Man, where his brother Goddard was king.⁶ Here, however, he was not secure from the attacks of his enemies. A.D. 1061. Mirrcad, the son of

whole thigh of a soldier, though ever so well cased in iron mail, is cut through by one blow of the axe, the leg falling on one side of the horse and the dying body on the other."

¹ *Annals of Innisfallen; Niala Saga; Chronicle of Ademar.*

² O'Donovan—*Account of the Battle of Clontorf*, translated from the Irish Manuscript entitled *Cath Chluana Turbh*, Dublin, 1832.

³ *Orkneyinga Saga and the Flatey Book.*

⁴ *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part ii, chapter ii.

⁵ *Annals of Ulster*, ap. Johnstone, p. 69.

⁶ *Annals of the Four Masters; Tighernac.*

Dermid and grandson of Mailnambo, at the head of a hostile armament, landed in Man, vanquished there Eachmarcach Mac Reginald, and laid the Island under contribution.¹

If Goddard held the sovereignty of Man under the control of Torfinn, Earl of Orkney, he was relieved of his vassalage by the death of that military chief in 1064.²

At this period, the English were vainly struggling to throw off the foreign yoke under which they had long laboured.³ Ireland was suffering under the control of the white foreigners.⁴ Scotland had yielded to the sway of the traitor Macbeth;⁵ and in a few years afterwards the Æbudian throne was overturned by another swarm from the northern hive.*

¹ *Tighernac*.

² *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part i, chap. iv. According to Johnstone, Godred, king of Man, died in 1051, and was succeeded by his son Fingal.—*Cello Normanicæ*, Copenhagen, edition 1786, p. 149.

³ *Hume's History of England*, cap. iii.

⁴ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 19.

⁵ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 339.

* Appendix, Note ii, "Kings of the Race of Ketill and Gorree."

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER III.

NOTE I.—PAGE 69.

WAR-ARROW.

The ancient Scandinavians had a piece of wood in the form of an arrow, which they dispatched round the country to warn or alarm the natives. Its form was typical of the rapidity with which it should be sent. In Iceland this custom is still preserved, only with this difference, that the magistrate of a district summoning the inhabitants to a *Thing*, in the month of May, wraps a paper round a wooden halbert. This proclamation must be read at the door of each house, it being unlawful to take it under a roof. It is then forwarded by a fast running person to the next stage. Its route is prescribed by ancient custom, and carrying it out of that course is highly punishable.—*Repp's Ancient Juries*, Edinburgh, 1832, p. 105. When the symbol carried round was burnt at one end, it indicated that if the person required did not appear at the place appointed, his dwelling, in default, would be burned to the ground. When a cord was tied to it, hanging was to be the punishment for non-attendance.—*Olaus Magnus's History of the Northern Nations*, London, 1658, p. 95.

In the highlands of Scotland, when a chieftain designed to summon his clansmen on any great or sudden emergency, he slew a goat, and making a cross of any light wood, seared its extremities in the fire, and extinguished them in the blood of the animal. This was called "The Fiery Cross." It was dispatched by a quick messenger, from hamlet to hamlet, in the manner just described, through all the districts which owed allegiance to the chief.—*Sir Walter Scott's Poetical Works*, vol. viii, p. 316.

In the Isle of Man, the captain of each parish, who may be considered a subordinate sheriff, is conservator of the peace, and to his custody is committed the *cross*, an instrument of the size of a man, which, in cases of emergency requiring public aid, is conveyed by him to a neighbour, who carries it forward to another; and thus it proceeds from house to house till it has performed the entire circuit of the parish; and its detention through neglect or other impediment would be regarded with much dread by the inhabitants of the house in which it should occur. This ancient custom is still observed, the last occasion on which it was practised was calculated to strip it of all romantic associations. The late Mr. Gawne, who had large property in the neighbourhood of Castletown, having a few years ago lost some sheep, summoned forth the captain of the parish, and the cross was exhibited not in vain, for the robber was detected.—*Lord Teignmouth's Sketches of the Coasts and Islands of Scotland and of the Isle of Man*, London, 1836, vol. ii, pp. 238, 239.

An aged person in the Island, with whom I conversed respecting the Cross, says that when a young man he recollects very well running with it. The manner in which it went round the district was, the Captain of the Parish, with whom the custom always commenced, gave it to his next neighbour, with instructions that the cross was to muster the people at such a place, or for Watch and Ward; and then the neighbour took it from the captain and proceeded to his neighbour, until the whole parish was alarmed. The Cross was two pieces of wood about the length of a man's arm. This custom was observed during the American war of 1780 and the French Revolutionary war of 1789; but my informant never heard of the cross used for such a purpose as that mentioned by Lord Teignmouth about Mr. Gawne; but supposes his lordship has confounded the business of the cross with that of a Jury of Enquiry, which court summonses all suspected persons to appear before it.

War was anciently proclaimed in Britain by sending messengers in different directions through the land, each bearing a *bent bow*; and peace was in like manner announced by a *bow unstrung*.—*Cambrian Antiquities*.

This custom is beautifully described by Mrs. Hemans; (*Poetical Works*, vol. iv, p. 105):—

“There was heard the sound of a coming foe;
There was sent through Britain a bended bow;
And a voice was poured on the free winds far,
As the land rose up at the sign of war.

‘Heard you not the battle horn?
Reaper! leave thy golden corn;
Leave it for the birds of heaven,
Swords must flash and shields be riven;
Leave it for the winds to shed;
Arm, ere Britain's turf grow red!’
And the reaper armed like a freeman's son;
And the bended bow and the voice passed on.

‘Hunter leave the mountain chace,
Take the falchion from its place;
Let the wolf go free to day,
Leave him for a nobler prey;
Let the deer, ungalled, sweep by,
Arm thee! Britain's foes are nigh.’
And the hunter armed ere the chase was done;
And the bended bow and the voice passed on.

‘Chieftain! quit the joyous feast,
Stay not till the song has ceased;
Though the mead be foaming bright,
Though the fires give ruddy light,
Leave the hearth, and leave the hall,
Arm thee! Britain's foes must fall.’
And the chieftain armed, and the horn was blown,
And the bards made songs for the battle won.”

NOTE II.—Page 71.

KINGS OF THE RACE OF KETILL AND GORREE.

LINE OF KETILL.		A.D.	LINE OF GORREE CONTINUED.	
Ketill Flatnefr.....		890	Olain	} All in 14 years but the exact date unknown.
Helgi }		894	Allan	
Thorstein }			Fingall	
Nial.....		914	Goddard I	
LINE OF GORREE.			Hacon	974
Gorree.....	about	920	Goddard II.....	988
Guthred		947	Reginald	988
Olave I		960	Suibne.....	1034
			Harold I.....	1040
			Goddard III	1052

CHAPTER IV.

NORWEGIAN LINE OF KINGS, FROM A.D. 1066 TO 1164.

Northern Auxiliaries of William the Conqueror—Goddard Crovan, son of Harold the Black of Iceland, conquers Man—Subdues Dublin and a great part of Leinster—Terrific irruption of Magnus Barefoot—Death of Goddard Crovan—The Manks flee on the approach of Magnus—Malcolm King of Scotland resigns the Western Isles to the Norwegian Conqueror, as does Donald Bane the Isles of Orkney and Shetland—Vision of Magnus—Civil War in Man—Battle decided by the valour of the Women of the Northern District—Wretched state of the Island when visited by Magnus—His descent into Wales—Sends his Shoes to the King of Ireland to carry publicly on his shoulders in token of his submission—Meditates the Conquest of Ireland—Death of Magnus—Lagman, son of Goddard Crovan, ascends the Throne of the Isles—Succeeded by Donald the son of Teig—Fate of Ingemund—Olave Kleining called to the Throne—Married to a daughter of the Lord of Galloway—Confirmed in his Dominions by the King of Norway—Conspiracy against Olave—His Death and Character—The Assassins of Olive defeated in Galloway—Fergus Lord of Galloway, places his grandson Godred on the Throne of the Isles—Godred elected King of Dublin—Insurrection of Somerled—Battle at Sea—Godred and Somerled divide the Kingdom of the Isles—Somerled drives Godred from the Throne—Church of St. Maughold plundered—Death and Character of Somerled.

WHILE William of Normandy was making preparations for invading England, Harald Harfagr, king of Norway, was prevailed on by his influence to engage in the enterprise. The Norwegian monarch having arrived with a large armament in the Isle of Man,¹ was joined there by

¹ *Mac Culloch's Description of the Western Isles*, London, 1824, vol. iii, p. 36.

the forces of Goddard, the son of Sygtrig,¹ then king of the Isles. The united fleets, amounting to three hundred sail, were joined on the shores of Northumberland, by Tosti, the rebellious brother of Harold, king of England, with sixty vessels which he had collected in the ports of Flanders. After carrying fire and sword along the coast of England, the combined fleets reached the Humber, where the troops disembarked; but were soon afterwards attacked and totally defeated at Standford-bridge, by Harold, the reigning king of England. In this sanguinary conflict, Tosti and Harfagr² were slain, and the whole of the Norwegian fleet fell into the hands of the conqueror, who had the generosity, however, to allow Olave, the son of Harfagr, to depart with twenty vessels.³

On steering homeward, this small remnant of the great armament, which had so recently left the shores of Man, returned to that Island, where the unfortunate warriors were kindly received by the king.

Among those who on this occasion shared with Olave the hospitality of the Manks king, was Goddard Crovan or Chrouban,⁴ son of Harold the Black, of Iceland. During his

¹ Goddard, the son of Sygtrig, was of the Northumberland family. His pedigree stands thus:—"Goddard Mac Iterig, Mac Aulay, Mac Iterig, Mac Aulay, Mac Iterig, king of Northumberland."—*Johnstone's Celto Normanicæ*, Copenhagen 1786, p. 149. The Saga relates that before Harold left Trondheim he caused the shrine, wherein the body of his half-brother St. Olaf was deposited, to be opened and the nails and hair to be cut off, that he might take them with him as holy relics.—*Chriction's Scandinavia*, vol i, chap. iv.

² *Harfagr* is synonymous with our English *Fairfax* and signifies *Fair locks*.—*Mallett's Northern Antiquities*, London, 1770, vol. i, p. 50.

³ *Hume's History of England*, chap. iii.

⁴ *Chrouban* in Icelandic signifies *White-handed*. The surnames of Scandinavia were not heritable but distinctive. It would be difficult to find an instance of two kings, of the same country, of the same name and surname. Iceland was divided into shires or prefectures, called Goddard, and the prefect or magistrate of each shire was called Godi; and the term Goddard denoted both the dignity and also the district over which the authority extended, that is, the Godi-ship and the Godi-ric; from which it may be inferred Crowman had either been a Godi in his own country or assumed that title on his arrival in Man, in addition to that of king, being perhaps accounted more honourable. Crowman, signifying *the Slaughter*, was perhaps conferred on him, being a Vikingr.—*Thorl. Gudm. Repp.*, p. 171.

stay, this Icelandic prince had time to observe the defenceless state of the Island, and he soon bethought himself of turning this circumstance to his own advantage. Stimulated by the success which had attended the arms of former adventurers from the northern regions of Europe, he, on his return to Norway, raised an army in his native mountains, and equipped a large fleet to transport his piratical legions to the shores of Man. Here, however, he was opposed by Fingall, the son and successor of king Goddard,¹ who in the interval had been gathered to his fathers.² The first descent of the invaders was so boldly opposed by the Manks, that they were obliged to seek refuge in their ships. Goddard, having rallied his forces, his fleet again returned to the Island, but was again repulsed. On a third attempt, however, with a recruited army, he was more successful. Having anchored in Ramsey Bay, A.D. 1077, he landed his troops by night, in order to deceive the islanders as to the true strength of his armament, and placed an ambuscade of three hundred men in a wood on Skye Hill, above Ramsey.³

Early next morning, the Manks, with their young king Fingall at their head, rushed upon the foe with great impetuosity, in the confident hope of again driving them to their ships or into the sea; and notwithstanding the ambush men having sprung unexpectedly on their rear, the islanders fought with such bravery that the issue of the conflict remained long doubtful. At length, when the Manks king fell boldly facing the foe, his followers got into great confusion, and were driven by the invaders into the river Sulby, swollen at the time by the influx of the tide, where the greater part of them perished. The resi-

¹ The Goffraig of the Irish Annals is the Godridus of the Latin writers, and the Goddard of the Chronicles of Man.

² *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden's *Britt.*

³ *Johnstone's Cello Normanica*, p. 69; *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702, p. 29.

due, cut off from all means of escape, submitted unconditionally to the conqueror. In this great battle fell Sigtrig Mac Olave, and two O'Brians of the blood royal of Ireland.¹

The Icelandic conqueror, having thus acquired possession of Man, left it to the choice of his followers, either to plunder the Island and depart with the booty, or to remain and have the land divided among them. The former proposal, as being more congenial to their habits and pursuits, was preferred by the greater part of the soldiery, who returned home enriched with the spoils of the vanquished Manksmen.

Goddard himself, however, was disposed to keep possession of Man; those, therefore, who were intent upon following the fortunes of the chief who had led them to victory, took possession of the southern part of the Island, while the northern division was granted to the remaining inhabitants, under the express condition of their being tenants at will, "and that none of them or their heirs should ever presume to claim any part of it by way of inheritance." Thus, then, the whole Island became the property of this northern conqueror, in whose line it remained for centuries afterwards.²

As the Manks had been the most ancient allies of the Gallovidians, and had at various periods afforded an asylum to their refugees, it might naturally have been expected that these people would stretch forth an arm in their cause. The Gallovidians, however, while they saw the valiant islanders subjugated by a northern prince, were without the power to render them any assistance, being themselves weakened by intestine broils, and by a foreign

¹ *Annals of Ulster*, ap. *Johnstone's Celto Normanica*. The *Annals of Ulster* place the death of these persons in 1073.

² *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. *Camden's Britannica*; *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, 1736, p. 773; *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. ii, p. 528.

enemy. Galloway being the common receptacle for his English enemies, was invaded by William the Conqueror, as well by land from Carlisle as by sea from the mouth of the Solway. Having in vain, however, harassed his troops by marching and counter marching through this wild mountainous district, William at length struck through Clydesdale and proceeded directly to Lothian.¹

Having now established his throne in Man, Goddard turned his attention towards Ireland, which was at that time divided into petty principalities. He subdued Dublin, and a great part of the province of Leinster submitted to his arms.² He likewise brought the Western Isles, with Orkney and Shetland, under subjection. His son Lagman was lieutenant of the Western Islands.—Goddard himself is called by Torfæus, king of the Nor-
dereys.³ It is also stated that he brought the Scots to such subjection that they dared not build a vessel with more than three nails or bolts in it.⁴

This instability in the government of Scotland, proved highly favourable to the ambitious views of Magnus Barefoot,⁵ the piratical king of Norway. This monarch, having equipped a large fleet, A.D. 1093, sailed from Norway, "Not," as he declared, "to invade the territories of others, but only to resume the ancient rights of Norway." Notwithstanding, however, of this declaration, the rapacity which Magnus evinced had not been equalled by

¹ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 265; *Johnstone's Celto Normanica*, page 69.

² *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden.

³ *Mac Culloch's Western Isles*, vol. iii, p. 37.

⁴ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1705, p. 65; *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, p. 773; *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, Dublin, 1775, vol. ii, p. 530.

⁵ He was called by his countrymen *Magnus Berfaetr* which signifies *Barelegs*, and which is thus accounted for. "It is said that when king Magnus returned from his first expedition to the west, he had adopted the custom in use in the western lands, and from this was called *barelegs* or *barefoot*."—*Magnus Berfaetr's Saga*, ap. *Transactions of the Iona Club*, vol. i, part iii, p. 27; *Torfæus*, vol. iii, book vii, cap. viii.

any of his piratical predecessors in the Northern seas. He began his career by deposing Paul Erland, a descendant of Torfin, who was created Earl of Orkney in 1028.¹ The Orcades then quietly submitted to his power, and he left his son Sigurd² prefect of those Isles, with councillors to assist him in the government. As he proceeded "westward over the sea," the fury of his cruel irruption fell successively upon Lewis and Skye, from the latter of which he carried off as many cattle as victualled his fleet: he then reduced the Uists and Mull, and proceeding southward, spent some time in pillaging Isla, destroying the inhabitants, burning their villages, and laying everything waste around him. The Norwegian Bard who, according to the custom of that age, attended Magnus, on purpose to record his triumphs, thus describes the progress of the expedition:³—"The sea swelled with joy at the devastation of the land, and the army was in action whilst the dry-fire rose from the temples." Lagman, the obnoxious son of Goddard Crovan, having fallen into his hands, the event is thus described by another Danish poet:—"Dangerous was every place in the hills where dwelt the son of Goddard, for the mighty king of the Throndonians strictly watched Lagman, that his flight might be interrupted. He escaped to the ocean; but he was seen from the beach, and the king's ships followed him. Behind the promontory the clashing swords were heard; the sound died away, and the happy leader had,

¹ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i, p. 36; *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, London, 1767, vol. i, p. 289; *Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. i, book iii, chap. iv; *MS. Supplement to Eumson's Account of Orkney*, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, Edinburgh.

² *Torfeus's History of Norway*, part iii, cap. iv, p. 421.

³ *Biornus Kreppendi*, apud *Johnstone's Antiquities of Scandinavia*, Copenhagen, 1736, p. 231. "The names," says Campbell, "of the two Norwegian bards, whose songs of this expedition have been transcribed into their histories, were Biornus Curvimanus and Thorkell Hamarskiold, which also shows the authority of these poetic chronicles, which were, beyond all doubt, the most ancient records of the Northern nations."—*Campbell's Political Survey*, vol. ii, p. 560.

by his valour, the honour of numbering king Lagman among his captive enemies."¹

The *Sagas* affirm that Goddard Crovan was expelled from the throne of the Western Isles by Magnus Barefoot;² and the *Chronicles of Man* assert that he died in Isla.³ It is probable that, on the tidings of the irruption of Magnus into the Orkneys, and the account of his having overturned the government there, reaching Man, Goddard mustered all his forces, and proceeded to support his son Lagman in defending the Nodereys; and that, on his arrival at Isla, he fell in the sixteenth year of his reign, amid the general slaughter which deluged the Island in blood, leaving three sons, Lagman, Harold, and Olave.

This view of Manks history at that period is strengthened by the circumstance of Magnus, on his arrival in Man, finding the Island nearly deserted by its inhabitants. On hearing of his approach, they fled over to Galloway, and the Island became an easy conquest.⁴

Malcolm, king of Scotland, who was then on the eve of commencing the expedition into England, in which he lost his life, resigned to Magnus all the Western Isles around which he could sail. The Norwegian king, taking advantage of this vague document, caused his boat to be drawn across the small isthmus which unites Knapdale to Kintyre, asserting that the latter came within the description of those resigned to him.⁵

King Malcolm died in 1093; and his brother, Donald Bane, on ascending the throne, not only confirmed to

¹ *Johnstone*, p. 232; *Buchanan's History of Scotland*, vol. i, book i.

² *Magnus Berfaettr's Saga*; *Orkneyinga Saga*; *Snorro Hæley*; *Annals of Innisfallen*; *Torfaeus's History of the Orkades*, pp. 71, 72.

³ *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*; *Johnstone's Celto Normanicæ*, p. 149. The *Annals of Ulster* by *Johnstone* say that Goddard died in 1095; but the expedition of Magnus is known to have taken place in 1093. According to *Crichton*, Goddard was captured by Magnus Barefoot.—*Scandinavia*, vol. i, p. 233.

⁴ *Johnstone's Antiquities of Scandinavia*.

⁵ *Magnus Berfaettr's Saga*, apud *Skene's Highlanders*, part ii, chap. ii.

Magnus his brother's grant of the Western Isles, but also ceded to him those of Orkney and Shetland. So soon, however, as the transaction became known in Scotland, the public indignation rose to such a height against Donald,¹ that he was driven from the elevated seat of his usurpation. Although Magnus had little to fear from Edgar, his feeble successor on the Scottish throne, he, nevertheless, built strongholds for his soldiers in nearly all the places he had subdued. In the Isle of Man, he erected a fortress which he distinguished by his own name, but of which no trace is now to be found. In order, also, to intimidate the Gallovidians, he built garrisons along the precipitous coasts at Burrow Head, Cragiedown, and Castlefeather; and he even compelled the Gallowaymen to supply him with stone and timber for the erection of these bulwarks.²

On the completion of these works, Magnus appears to have returned to Norway and resumed his seat on the Norwegian throne, for, in the year 1098, we find him again preparing to leave his northern kingdom with a powerful armament.

The monkish writers of that period, ever fond of supernatural agency, affirm that Magnus, contrary to the injunctions of his clergy, caused the tomb of St. Olave, the martyr king, to be opened, in order to ascertain whether the body, which had been interred sixty-eight years before, had remained incorrupt; and that having himself ascertained that it had, he was seized with great fear and hastily departed. In the ensuing night, it is added, the spirit of the offended saint appeared to the affrighted king, ordering him to make choice of these two offers, "either to

¹ *Buchanan's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 297; *Guthrie's Hist. of Scot.*, vol. i, p. 289; *Hist. Normanorum*, p. 1000; *Fordun Scot.*, book v, chap. xxv; *Major Scotorum*, book iii, chap. ix.

² *Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 367; *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i, p. 361.

lose his kingdom and his life, or, within thirty days, to leave Norway for ever.”¹ The king, starting from his couch, dispatched the *Skera up Heror*, or *War-Arrow*,² to summon an immediate convention of his nobles, and the elders of the people. Having informed them of his vision, and repeated the commands of the vengeful spirit, that he might receive their advice respecting his future conduct, they unanimously advised him to leave the kingdom with all possible despatch. Pursuant to this decision, therefore, he equipped a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, and again sailed “westward over the seas.”

Neither the *Icelandic Sagas* nor the *Irish Annals* describe, distinctly, the progress of this expedition through the Western Isles; and all other historians have, in a great measure, overlooked the first irruption of Magnus, in 1093.³ These expeditions, five years apart, should not be blended together, there being historical documents extant to prove the certainty of both.

The chief cause of Magnus’s expedition, in 1093, was a compact which he had made with Donald Bane to assist the latter in ascending the Scottish throne; and the true reason of his undertaking that of 1098, was to re-establish his authority in the Isle of Man, which of late had been disregarded. Octtar, the Norwegian *Jarl*, had, for some fancied acts of tyranny, been displaced by the inhabitants of the southern district of the Island, and one

¹ *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, apud Camden’s *Britannica*; *Johnstone’s Celta Normannica*; p. 70. St. Olave was interred at Trondheim in the magnificent cathedral which rose upon the ruins of the temple of Thor.—*Crichton’s Scandinavia*, vol. i, p. 156.

² *Repp’s Scandinavian Forensic Institutions*, p. 105.

³ *Simcon Dunelm*, ap. *Hale’s Annals of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 52; *Ordericus Vitalis*, ap. *Abercromby’s Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*, edition 1762, vol. i, p. 395. It is asserted by the author that in the fifth year of the reign of William Rufus, king of England, (1092) Magnus, king of Norway, subdued the Orkneys and settled a colony in the Isle of Man.—*Mallet’s Northern Antiq.*, vol. i, chap. xi; *Macpherson’s Critical Dissertations*, p. 255.

Macmarus had been elected in his place. Maemarus was in every respect qualified for the guidance of the affairs of the state, with a steady hand; but his election to that dignity was the cause of a civil war, as the inhabitants of the northern district still adhered to *Jarl Octtar*.¹ Both parties at length resolving to put an end to the contest by a decisive fight, the people of the south were led by Macmarus, and those of the north by Jarl Octtar. The conflict which ensued at Santwart, or St. Patrick's Isle, in the parish of Jurby, was long and bloody. The party of Macmarus were dispersing their opponents, when the women of the north rushed forth simultaneously to the scene of action, and, by the timely assistance which they rendered to their husbands and relations, changed the issue of the fight, although not till both leaders were slain. As a reward for the bravery of the northern amazons, it was afterwards enacted by the insular government, that, "of all goods immoveable, not having any life, the wives shall have the halfe on the north side, whereas those on the south side shall receive only one-third."²

On the arrival of Magnus Barefoot in Man, the Island presented a most appalling spectacle: the scene of the last sanguinary conflict was strewed with the mangled corpses of the slain of both parties, uninterred, and in a state of putrefaction. The whole Island was a desert, well nigh depopulated by war and famine, so that it cost Magnus little trouble to re-establish his power. So wretched, however, was the condition of the inhabitants, that even *he* regarded them with commiseration, and caused them to build houses, of which they were nearly

¹ *Chronicles of Kings of Man*, ap. Camden; *Johnstone's Celto Normanica*, p. 150. *Jarl* is a Norwegian title, synonymous with *Earl*: *Macpherson's Critical Disquisitions on the Origin of the Ancient Caledonians*, Edinburgh, edition quarto, 1768, p. 257.

² *Lex Scripta of the Isle of Man*, p. 52, Douglas, edit. 1819.

destitute,¹ for, like the Firbolgs, so famous in the Irish Chronicles, they lived in small huts or cells, under the ground, chiefly in the mountains.²

After a short stay in Man, for the purpose of refitting his ships, Magnus embarked his troops, and steered towards the ancient Mona of Wales.³

The subjects of William Rufus, in the counties bordering on Wales, had been so often harassed by the depredatory incursions of the Welshmen, headed by their refractory chiefs, that, for the purpose of subjugating these turbulent mountaineers, William invaded North Wales with a numerous army; sending, at the same time, another into the Isle of Anglesea, against the rebellious Owen ap Edwyn. This army was placed under the joint command of Hugh, Earl of Shrewsbury, and Hugh, Earl of Chester, who waged a savage war against the poor Islanders by mutilating all the prisoners who fell into their hands, sparing neither age nor sex.⁴

At this juncture, the Norwegian fleet appeared on the coast. The English army, headed by Shrewsbury, sped to the beach to oppose the landing of the Norsemen; but that nobleman, whose impetuous valour had carried him into the sea, had no sooner exposed himself to the view of the Norwegian king, than he received an arrow, which passing through an opening in his armour, pierced his right eye and reached his brain.⁵ As he tumbled convulsively from his horse, Magnus exclaimed exultingly, "see how he dances!"

¹ *Chronicles of Man*, ap. *Johnstone*, p. 149; *Ordericus Vitalis*, ap. *Mallet's Northern Antig.*, vol. i, cap. xi.

² *Cooil*, in the Manks language, signifies "a hiding-place;" and several places in the Island yet bear that name, in the following parishes:—There is *Cooil-shallagh* in Michael; *Cooil-bane* in Lezayre; *Cooil-ingil* in Marown; *Cooil-cam* in Malew; *Cooil-valley* in Maughold; *Cooil-awey* in Jurby; *Balla-cooil* in Patrick; and *Balla-coilley* in Ballaugh.

³ *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. *Camden*.

⁴ *Welsh Chron.* p. 150; *Hist. of the Ancient Princes of Wales*, p. 53.

⁵ *Giraldus Cambrensis*, cap. viii; *Simon of Durham*, p. 223; *Warrington's History of Wales*, London, 1788, pp. 241, 242.

The death of the Earl of Shrewsbury produced great disorder among the English, and obliged them to abandon the shore. The Earl of Chester, also, on the occurrence of this disaster, suddenly retreated into England.¹ The Norwegians, finding that the English had left little for them to plunder, soon re-embarked,² although, according to the *Chronicles of Man*, Magnus raised large contributions in Wales.³

A.D. 1100. There is on record, a protection sent to Magnus by Henry I, to meet him in Wales, for the purpose of concerting measures for making a joint conquest of Ireland.⁴ It is not known, however, if that interview took place; but it is certain the project was not carried into execution.

Brien Boiroidhe the Great, or, as he is more generally called, Brien Boron, at his death, left three sons, Murtough, Teig, and Donough, the last of whom succeeded his father on the Irish throne; but, being concerned in the murder of his brother Teig, he was dethroned, and was succeeded by his elder brother Murtough,⁵ a prince only remarkable for the quietude of his manners.

On learning the character of the reigning king of Dublin, Magnus sent him his shoes, with a command that he should carry them on his shoulders through his palace on Christmas day, in presence of the Norwegian messengers, to signify his submission to his authority. The Irish people received this insolent command with great wrath and indignation; but the peaceable Murtough said he would rather *eat* the shoes in question than that Magnus should destroy one province of Ireland. He consequently

¹ *King's Vale Royal of Cheshire*, p. 48.

² *Warrington's History of Wales*, p. 242.

³ *Johnstone's Cello Normanica*, p. 149.

⁴ *Calendars of Ancient Charters, with Welsh and Scottish Rolls*, in the Tower of London, 1772, p. 329.

⁵ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 528.

complied with the order; and sent back the messengers loaded with rich presents.¹

The pusillanimity of Murtough, together with the report of the messengers, as to the attractions of Ireland, turned the attention of Magnus upon the conquest of that country. He met, however, with more opposition than he contemplated; for "The men of Ireland marched to Dublin to give battle to Magnus and the Norwegians who had come to plunder Ireland." Finding his forces inadequate to the accomplishment of the object he had undertaken, Magnus entered into a treaty with the Irish, for one year; and his son Sigurd received in marriage the daughter of king Murtough, "with many rich and precious articles."²

This family alliance was not followed by that friendly intercourse which might naturally have been anticipated between the Irish and the Islesmen. Each state occupied the stipulated resting time in actively preparing for war, and, ere the time of the treaty had expired, Magnus was seen steering along the Irish coast with a more formidable force than he had before commanded in those seas. A.D. 1103. Leaving his fleet with sixteen gallies to reconnoitre the shores, he incautiously landed at a place then called Moichoaba. Here is guardian angel appears to have deserted him, for he was instantly slain, and all his party were put to the sword. This event was speedily followed by a general massacre of all the Danes in Dublin.³

Thus fell Magnus Barefoot, a monarch whose crimes have stained the page of history, and whose good qualities,

¹ *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Gough's *Camden*; *Johnstone's Celto-Normanica*; *Warrington's History of Wales*.

² *Annals of the Four Masters*, translated from the original MS. in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, by John O'Donovan, Dublin, 1832.

³ *Annals of the Four Masters*; *Annals of Ulster*; *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, edition 1705, p. 67; *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Gough's *Camden*; *Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. i, p. 618; *Torfaus's History of Norway*, vol. i, b. iii, p. 441; *Annals of Innisfallen*.

if he were possessed of any, are now unknown. He at last found a resting place in the abbey of Cluen, near St. Patrick's Church, in Down.¹

Magnus was the fifth in descent from Sigurd Rise, the fifth son of Harold Harfagr. His grandfather, Harold the Hardy, died in England, in 1066. By his queen, Magnus had four sons, Osteen, Sigurd, Olaus, and Harold Gyllie—the three former of whom ascended the throne of Norway, on the death of their father in 1103, and reigned conjointly. Harold Gyllie, the fourth son, had left Norway with his father, and, having accompanied him in all his enterprises, claimed in his right, the throne of Man; but, on this plea being rejected, he withdrew to Ireland, whence, sometime afterwards, he retired to Norway. Here he had to undergo the Fiery Ordeal,* in order to prove himself the real son of Magnus Nudipes, before he was permitted, in 1131, to share the government of the kingdom with his only surviving brother, Sigurd.

A.D. 1104. On the right of Goddard Crovan to the crown of the Isles being recognised, Lagman,² the son of that conqueror, succeeded to the throne; but by holding the reins of government with a despotic hand, he soon became obnoxious in the highest degree to his subjects. Suspecting his brother Harold, the heir apparent to the throne, to be instrumental in promoting the discontent of the people, with a view to his own succession, Lagman caused his eyes to be put out, and his body to be otherwise mutilated according to the barbarous custom of the Norwegians of that age. Perceiving, however, that this unmerited act of severity had inflamed the public indignation against him, the wretch abdicated his throne and under-

¹ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland.*

* Appendix, Note i, "Fiery Ordeal."

² Lagman, in the Norwegian language, signifies a person who administers justice; *Letters from Iceland*, by Uno Von Troil, London, 1776, vol. iii, p. 421.

took a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, whence he never returned.¹

Olave, the only remaining son of Goddard Crovan, being yet a minor, and residing at the court of Henry I., receiving his education, according to the custom of the times, the inhabitants of Man despatched delegates to Murtough O'Brien king of Ireland, soliciting him to send a person of royal extraction to rule over them during the minority of the young king. Murtough being, as before stated, a peaceful, well-meaning person, with blind partiality for his young kinsman Donald, the son of Teig, nominated him governor of the Isles.² This unworthy scion of a collateral branch of the family of the Irish king,³ no sooner found himself possessed of the reigns of government than he began to act the despot.⁴ His tyranny was aggravated by the perpetration of so many atrocious crimes, that the Hebridean chieftains entered into a general association, and collecting their followers, expelled him from the Isles in the third year of his reign.⁵ On his return to Ireland, he was put in chains and cast into prison, by order of king Murtough; but he was subsequently set at liberty.⁶

The Norwegian kings deeming this a favourable opportunity for again seizing upon the sovereignty of the Isles, despatched one Ingemund to take possession of them.—Ingemund, on arriving at Lewis, sent messengers to all the insular chiefs, requesting them to assemble for the purpose of acknowledging him as their king.

¹ *Chronicles of Man*, ap. Camden.

² We have here a clear proof that the princes and great men of the Western Isles, had withdrawn their allegiance from their old masters, the kings of Norway.—*Macpherson's Dissertations*, p. 257.

³ Teig was grandson of Tirloch O'Brien, king of Ireland. It was this monarch who furnished Wm. Rufus with wood for building Westminster Hall.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 528.

⁴ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, edition 1705, p. 67.

⁵ *Johnstone's Cello Normannica*, edition 1786, p. 149.

⁶ *Annals of the Four Masters* in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, translated from the original MS. by O'Donovan, Dublin, 1832.

A.D. 1114. In the mean time he and his retainers spent the time in rapine and revelry, giving themselves up to every kind of sensual gratification. When the chiefs of the Isles assembled they were so enraged to hear of the enormities committed by these *Norlings*, that during the night they set fire to the house of Ingemund, and destroyed himself and all his retinue by fire and sword.¹

Having found from a lengthened experience that the internal distractions of the state had long exposed it to the inroads of military adventurers from other nations, and fearing a recurrence of those troubles which their country had already endured, the chiefs of the Isles unanimously agreed to call Olave, the son of Goddard, who was now of age, to the throne of his father.

This youth, who, from his dwarfish stature, was called Olave *Kleining*, and sometimes from the colour of his hair, Olave the Red,² had been sixteen years absent from his native country³ under the tuition of William Rufus and his successor Henry I. Although of tender years, he accompanied king William, as aid-de-camp, to Normandy, and acted in that capacity till peace was concluded between the royal brothers. He distinguished himself in the war against Malcolm, king of Scotland, to the great

¹ *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden; *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 33.

² Seldon complains that *Olave*, *Olaus*, *Aulave*, *Amlaff*, and *Anlaphus*, are names which breed great confusion in history; but these names, seemingly different, appear to me the same. The sennachies of the Isles call the Olave, of whom we are now speaking, *Aula* or *Amhla*; in Latin, *Amlavus*, or *Anlaphus*, or *Olaus*; and they distinguish him from other princes of the same name by the title of *Amhla Dreag Mac Ree Lochlin*, that is to say, Red Olave the king of Lochlin's son. Goddard, the father of Olave, was from Scandinavia, which is called Lochlin by the inhabitants of the Highlands and Isles, with whom Lochlin and Scandinavia are synonymous terms.—*Macpherson's Dissertations*, p. 251

³ *Johnstone's Celta Normannica*, p. 150; Down to a late period, such nicknames were common in the Highlands of Scotland: thus, Viscount Dundee was, by his followers, called John Du-nan-cack—black-haired John who fights the battles; and, in like manner, John, Duke of Argyll, was known by the name of John Roy-nan-cack—red-haired John who fights the battles.—*Gordon's Itinerary*, p. 40.

satisfaction of many of the Island chiefs, who took the earliest opportunity that occurred of manifesting their attachment towards him.

A splendid embassy was sent to conduct him to the shores of his native land, where he was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of joy; nor had they afterwards reason to regret having made choice of such a sovereign.¹

Like a prudent legislator, he secured peace to his dominions and stability to his government, by entering into an amicable alliance with the kings of England and Ireland, and by contracting a marriage with Affrica,² daughter of Fergus, the powerful lord of Galloway,³ and grand-daughter of his friend and patron Henry I. of England.⁴

According to my friend, Mr. Skene, David I. king of Scotland, conquered the Isles of Man, Bute, and Arran from the Norwegians in the year 1135, and gave them to Somerled, the great Moarmer of Argyll.⁵ If this was the case, it does not appear that Man was on that account evacuated by Olave.

It had been the practice, on assuming the royal dignity of the Isles, to pay to the kings of Norway a tributary fee of "ten marks of gold."⁶ During the reign of his friend and protector, king Henry I., Olave had either neglected or refused to make payment of this token of vassalage. Afterwards, however, finding it necessary to cultivate a friendly intercourse with the Norwegian king,

¹ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies; Chronicles of Man, ap. Camden's Britannica.*

² Mr. Macculloch says Olave was married first to a daughter, either of the Earl of Caithness or the Earl of Orkney, he is not certain which; if so, she makes no figure in his history.—*Description of the Western Isles*, vol. iii, p. 40.

³ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, London, 1767, vol. i, pp. 315, 331.

⁴ *Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 367.

⁵ *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part ii, chap. ii.

⁶ *Historia Normannorum*, p. 100. Spelman in *Voce Marca* quotes an author who describes a merk of gold as equivalent to fifty merks of silver. According to the same learned antiquary a merk of gold was sometimes of no greater value than ten merks of silver.

he proceeded to his court accompanied by his son Godred and a small retinue.

Harold Gyllie, the competitor for the crown of the Isles, had, before the arrival of Olave Kleining at Drontheim, paid the great debt of nature, and his three sons, Sivar, Osten, and Ingo now conjointly filled the throne of their father.¹ Olave was received by the three brothers with every mark of respect and distinction; and before his departure from Drontheim was formally crowned king of the Isles;² leaving, at the same time, his son Godred to be educated at the Norwegian court.

In these barbarous ages the sceptre was frequently wrested from the hands of its lawful possessor by daring and enterprising characters. The wise administration of Olave was not a sufficient safeguard against the intrigues of his near relations.³ He had just landed from his northern voyage, when he found his quiet reign disturbed by a conspiracy concocted in Dublin and matured in Man during his absence, by the three sons of Harold, who, blind and mutilated, had died in prison at an early age.

They demanded, in right of their father, a moiety of the sovereignty of the Isles. The king replied, that he would take the matter into consideration, and appointed the day of the feast of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul for making his will publicly known, on the consecrated ground near Kirk Christ Lezayre.⁴

A.D. 1154. The ringleader of the claimants with nearly a battalion of Manks refugees took up a strong position near Ramsey Haven, to overawe the king by their formidable appearance. It was the custom of all the Scandinavian nations to discuss every important measure,

¹ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 590.

² *Seacombe's History of the Isle of Man*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 7.

³ *Haining's Guide*, p. 17.

⁴ *Johnstone's Celto Norman. ; Chronic. of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden; *Sa- cheverell's Description of Man*.

whether of church or state, in the open air; and the Manks, even to a very recent period, followed this example.

Olave advanced with a few of his nobility to the place where the hostile party was assembled, and was met by Reginald, one of the three rebellious nephews, who had stepped forward for the purpose, as it was supposed, of entering upon a conference with his uncle; but as Olave turned round to salute him, the traitor raised his shining battle-axe, and at one blow severed the king's head from his body.¹*

Thus fell, by the hand of an assassin, one of the most amiable princes that had filled the throne of the Isles.—He was of a mild disposition, and was distinguished by his brilliant talents. He possessed many rare accomplishments, acquired by long residence at the court and camp of the English kings. His greatest care was to soften the temper and humanize the actions of his turbulent and savage subjects—to improve their condition, and to govern them by wise and equitable laws.

According to a modern writer, Olave held the throne of Dublin, in addition to that of the Isles, for a period of twenty years; but neither the *Chronicles of the Kings of Man* nor the works of any of the Irish annalists which I have seen, appear to warrant this assertion, which leaves it to be regretted that Mr. Macculloch did not quote his authority, in order to counteract evidences upon which we must otherwise rely.²

¹ *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. ii, p. 528.

* Appendix, Note ii, "Goddard Crovan and other Kings of his Line."

² As Olave died in 1154, he must, on the authority of Mr. Macculloch, have been king of Dublin from A.D. 1134 to 1154. Within that period, however, we find the following incidental notices of other kings of Dublin from authority which has not hitherto been doubted.—A.D. 1137, Dermot Mc Morough, king of Leinster, with the Danes of Dublin and Wexford besieged Waterford.—1141, Connor O'Brien marched to Dublin, and the Danes submitted to him as their king.—1149, the Danes of Dublin, under the command of Dermot Mc Morough their king, plundered Dunleek.—1150, Torlogh O'Brien marched at the head of an army to Dublin and the

According to the fashion of his time, Olave granted to the clergy large franchises, liberties, and immunities. In the year 1134, he gave the abbey of Rushen to Evan, abbot of Furness, to serve as a nursery to the Manks church; hence it was that the abbot of Furness had the appointment of the abbot of Rushen, and, as some believe, the right of electing the bishop himself. The tithes were divided by him into three parts; to the bishop he gave one-third for his maintenance; to the abbey, one-third for the education of youth and relief of the poor; and to the parochial clergy he gave the remaining third for their subsistence.¹*

Besides the clergy of the Island, the prior of Whithorn in Galloway, the abbot of Furness in Lancashire, the abbot of Bangor in Wales, the abbot of Sabal, and the prior of St. Beade in Copeland, were barons, "in respect of their holdings to yeald farther and do fealty unto the king of Man, at and upon the general assembly of the whole Island called the Tinwald Court."²

By his queen, Olave had only one son, Godred, whom he had left, as already mentioned, at the Norwegian court. He had also an illegitimate family, consisting of Lawman, Reginald, and Harold, with several daughters, one of whom, named Ayla, was married to Shomhairlé Mac Gillebhríde, prince of Argyll,³ to whom she had four sons,

Danes submitted to him as their king. He gave them 1200 cows for their services.—*Annals of the Four Masters*, ap. *O'Donovan's Antiquities*, Dublin, edition 1832.—Such a statement was scarcely to be expected from Mr. Macculloch, who says he undertook his sketch of Manks history, merely because it had been previously misapprehended and misrepresented by all other historians.—*Description of the Western Isles*, vol. iii, p. 29.

¹ *Seacome's History of the Isle of Man*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 7.

*Appendix, Note iii, "Grants to the Church."

² *Parr's MS. Statutes*, folios 1, 3, 5, 15, confirmed by Statute, anno 1577, 1584, 1600.

³ Lord Hailes supposes Shomhairle to be a corruption of Samuel, (*Annals of Scotland*, A.D. 1164); but the author of the *Antiquities of Dublin*, taking it to be derived from the word *surly*, calls him the surly son of Gilbert. Shomhairle is now generally corrupted into Somerled, which Lord Hailes thinks is "an error in modern critics."

Dulgall or Dugall, Reginald, Angus, and Olave. This proved, ultimately, an unfortunate marriage for the kingdom of the Isles.¹

The inhabitants of Man, surrounded as they were by monarchical forms of government, had no idea of any other, and even on the supposition that they had, their insignificance as a people could warrant little reliance on the support of any state disposed to assist them, in the expectation of mutual advantage. It is to this cause, therefore, that we may trace their ready submission to the yoke of so many military adventurers. To the assassins of Olave Bitling Kleining they offered no resistance; and although he was, perhaps, one of the most popular kings that had yet swayed the sceptre of the Isles, the successful conspirators were allowed quietly to divide the Island among themselves.²

The triumvirate, already flushed with the success attending their enterprise, now invaded Galloway at the head of a potent body of Manksmen, with a view of seizing on the person of their aunt Affrica, who, on the death of her husband, had fled for protection to her father; but they were boldly met by the Galloway men who drove them back to their ships with great slaughter. On returning to Man, these tyrants exercised every cruelty on the Galloway people residing there which shame, disappointment, and revenge could suggest.

At the request of many of the nobles of the Out-Isles, Fergus, Lord of Galloway, (A.D. 1154,) recalled his grandson Godred from the court of Norway, where he was still residing. In the autumn following, Godred arrived with five ships, and as soon as the circumstance could be made known throughout the Hebrides by means of the

¹ *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden's *Brittanica*; Johnstone's *Cello Normanicæ*, p. 151.

² *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden.

War-Arrow, the nobles assembled, and unanimously acknowledged him their king.

At this period, Godred was active and brave. Being of noble mien and great stature, his person was admirably adapted to command the admiration of his subjects, as well as to attract the attention of strangers.—The first act of his government was to cause Reginald, his father's assassin, to be put to death, and the two younger conspirators to be deprived of their eyes.

While employed in following the rules laid down by his father for the government of the Isles, events were passing in Ireland in which he was soon to be concerned. The Danes of Dublin had agreed with Cadwalader ap Gryffith, for a sum of two thousand marks, to assist him in waging war against his brother Owen, king of North Wales, and, in conformity with this agreement, they had landed the stipulated force in North Wales; but before their services were required, the rival brothers had secretly made peace. Cadwalader having failed to pay the stipulated subsidy to his auxiliaries, was immediately seized by them and placed in confinement until they had collected an equivalent in cattle. Under this pretext, the Irish Danes plundered the country round to a considerable extent; and were proceeding to laden their ships with the booty,¹ when Owen, the brother of Cadwalader, at the head of a resistless force, unexpectedly rushed upon them, rescuing his brother, and cutting off nearly the whole of the invaders. Ottar, the Danish commander, escaped in an open boat, and with great difficulty reached the Irish coasts.

This battle was followed by another in Meath, where Reginald, king of the Danes in Dublin, was slain. Ottar, the commander of the Welsh expedition, being of royal extraction, became a candidate for the vacant throne;

¹ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 67. Caradocus Lhancarvanensis says "The spoil of the Danes consisted of every necessary of life, clothes, domestic utensils, and cattle which they killed and prepared on the shores which were ravaged."

but Godred, king of Man, was the choice of the people. Godred, therefore, soon afterwards arrived with a formidable armament in the Liffey, and was rapturously received by the citizens of Dublin.

When Murchieard, king of the greater part of Ireland, heard of the arrival of the Manks king with such a warlike equipment, he advanced on Dublin with a "mighty host." O'Sbillan, the brother of Murchieard, had reached the *Cortehelis* of the city before him, at the head of three thousand horsemen,¹ when the inhabitants sallied out at the gates, shouting like the Berserkir,² and accompanying their cries with such showers of missile weapons, that the troopers were obliged to fall back in great confusion, saving themselves only by the swiftness of their horses. O'Sbillan, distinguished himself bravely in the fight till he fell mortally wounded. Murchieard immediately disbanded his troops and allowed them to disperse.³

Godred returned to Man, and likewise disbanded the captains who had accompanied him to Ireland, whither it does not appear he ever returned, as two years afterwards, Brodar, the brother of king Reginald, who was slain in Meath, was elected "King of the Danes in Dublin."⁴

On being raised to the dignity of a double crown,

¹ Anciently the Irish rode without saddles, which, however, afterwards came in use among them, but without stirrups. These horsemen were armed either with spears or arrows. A certain Frenchman, who wrote in French metre of the second expedition of Richard II. into Ireland, describes Murchardid, one of the most powerful kings of Ireland, in that manner on horseback, without a saddle; but he says "his horse cost four hundred cows!"—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 30.

² "These Northern barbarians, when a conflict impended or a great undertaking was to be commenced, abandoned all rationality upon system; they studied to resemble wolves or mad dogs, they bit their shields, they howled like beasts, they threw off all covering, they excited themselves to strength, that has been compared to that of bears, and then rushed to every crime and horror, which the most frantic enthusiasm could perpetrate."—*Turner's History of the Anglo Saxons*.

³ *Johnstone's Celto Normanica*, p. 69.

⁴ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, edition 1705, p. 68.

Godred appears, by fancied acts of severity, to have become unpopular with his Manks subjects. The resentment of the people was fomented by the agents of Torfinn, the son Ottar, the unsuccessful competitor for the crown of Dublin. Ottar was slain soon after his competition with Godred; and Torfinn, supposing that his father had fallen by the intrigues of his rival, entertained a deadly hatred against Godred, striving, by every means in his power, to overturn his government of the Isles. In this undertaking he found a willing coadjutor in Somerled, the Jarl or Moarmor* of Argyll, who, on being foiled in an attempt to establish his grandsons in their alleged right to the earldom of Moray, as claimed by their father Wimund, in 1153, had taken refuge in Ireland.¹

The object of this conspiracy was to place Dugall, the eldest son of Somerled by his wife Ayla, daughter of Olave Kleining, on the throne of the Isles. Rejoicing at the prospect of obtaining this object, Somerled delivered up Dugall to the care of Torfinn, who conducted the young prince through the Hebrides, and compelled the chiefs of the Isles to acknowledge him king, and to give hostages for their allegiance. The majority of the nobles, however, yet adhered to the reigning sovereign; among these was Paul Balkason, Lord of Skye, who, without waiting to take the obligation required by Torfinn, passed secretly to Man, and acquainted Godred with the means resorted to by his enemies in the Out-Isles, to bring about a revolution.²

Alarmed at this intelligence, Godred immediately dis-

* Appendix, Note iv, "Moarmor." The *Chronicle of the Kings of Man* calls Somerled, also, Prince of Keregaidhel, which is a corruption of Jar-ghael, that is to say the country of the Western Caledonians.—*Macpherson*, p. 273.

¹ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i, p. 371; *Shaw's History of Moray*, p. 392; *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i, book iv, chap. ii; *History of Renfrewshire*, p. 45.

² *Johnstone's Cello Normanica*, p. 70; *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. *Camden*; *Sacheverell's Account of Man*, p. 40.

patched the *War-Arrow* ordering his vassals to prepare their ships, and without delay he sailed to oppose the conspirators. Somerled had already been in preparation for the expected struggle, and was advancing towards Man with a fleet of eighty galleys. The hostile fleets met on the evening preceding the feast of the Epiphany, A.D. 1156; but the action was indecisive, as next morning at day break a compromise was effected, by which Godred and Somerled agreed to divide the sovereignty of the Isles. By this treaty all the Islands south of the Point of Ardnamurchan, the most western part of the Scottish mainland, were ceded to Somerled, who acted now on an independant footing. After this division, the kingdom of the Isles was never afterwards united under one sovereign.¹

A.D. 1158. The peace, concluded on the occasion of this treaty, was not, however, of long continuance. Two years afterwards Somerled the Surly treacherously returned to Man with a fleet of fifty-three sail. A battle ensued, in which Somerled was victorious; and he proceeded to plunder the Island² without any resistance on the part of the people.

It is related that, immediately before this battle, the inhabitants of the northern district of the Island had deposited their gold, jewels, and other property in the church of Kirk Maughold, trusting that the veneration entertained for the saint, added to the sanctity of the place, would prevent their being touched by violent hands; but Gillie-colum, the son of Somerled, having received information of the circumstance, communicated the particulars to his father, with a request that he might be allowed to plunder the church, adding that in this he could no more offend

¹ *Chronicles of Kings of Man*, ap. Camden; *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part ii, cap. ii; *Dissertation on the Government of the Isles*, ap. Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, A.D. 1772, vol. iii, p. 419.

² *Johnstone's Cello Normanicæ*; *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden.

St. Maughold, than by driving off the cattle which were enclosed within the walls of the consecrated ground, for the support of the army. Somerled reluctantly complied, saying, "Let the affair rest between you and St. Maughold; I claim no share of the sacrilegious booty." As soon as it was understood that even the sanctity of the church was not to be respected by the conquerors, the priests, and those who had been allowed to take shelter within the walls, fled into caves and dens, while the rest of the inhabitants ran wildly about the church, imploring St. Maughold not to forsake them in such an extremity.

The first watch of the night was nearly past, adds the chronicler of the event, before liberty was given to pillage the church, when Gilliecolum, having secured the booty and placed sentinels to protect it till morning, retired to sleep in his tent; scarcely, however, had he fallen into slumber, when St. Maughold appeared to him in such an angry mood, that he awoke in terror, called for the priests, and restored to them all the property which had been seized by his order within the precincts of the church.— This circumstance was hailed as an extraordinary interference on the part of the saint, which the priests knew well how to turn to good account.¹

Godred, driven from his throne, retired to the court of *Ingoe*, called *Crook-back*,² then king of Norway; while Somerled obtained quiet possession of the kingdom of the Isles, for the space of six years. During this period, he was actively employed in bringing to maturity his favourite scheme of conquering Scotland, a feat which had baffled Rome in the zenith of her power.

A.D. 1164. From a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail, he landed a heterogeneous mob of 15,000 naked men, consisting of Kerns and Roysters, at the bay of St. Laurence,

¹ *Johnstone's Celto Normanica*, page 70.

² *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 590.

now Greenock; but as he advanced into the interior of the country, he was slain by Maurice Mac Niel, one of his nephews, near Renfrew, along with his son Gillie-colum, and the greater part of their followers.¹

Antiquaries differ as to the lineage of Somerled; some affirm that he was a descendant of Conn Ceadchaghach, called "The hero of the hundred battles,"² who was the one hundred and third king of Ireland, of the Milesian race, and lived in the second century of the Christian era.³ Others suppose him to have been a descendant of some of the Danish Vikingr, who, in the ninth century, infested the coasts of Scotland, and who had by conquest gained large possessions in Argyll.⁴ While my friend, Mr. Skene, finds him to have been of Pictish descent, and of the tribe of Gallgael.⁵ But whatever may have been his origin, Buchanan says, that "His fortune was above his family, and his ambition above his fortune."⁶

¹ *Buchanan's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 311; *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii, chap. vi; *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 374; *Macpherson*, p. 270.

² *Gregory's History of the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland*.

³ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London 1736, table 525; *Abercromby's Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*, Edinburgh, edition 1762, vol. i, p. 311.

⁴ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 332; *Macculloch's Western Isles*, London, 1824, vol. iii, p. 41.

⁵ *Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part ii, chap. ii.

⁶ *Buchanan's History of Scotland*, edition 1762, vol. i, p. 306. Langebeck in his *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* mentions a life of Somerled by a contemporary writer, in which he is styled *Rex Mannie*; but this is not confirmed by history. In the *Chronicles of Melrose*, A.D. 1164, he is called a vassal of the king of Scotland, at which time it does not appear that the Scottish monarch exercised any authority over the Isle of Man.

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER IV.

NOTE I.—PAGE 88.

FIERY ORDEAL.

Harold Gyllie, returning from Ireland to Norway, had to prove by ordeal, that he was a son of king Magnus Barefoot, (who was killed in battle in Ireland,) in the following manner: "King Sigurd said that he should walk over hot-iron bars to prove his parentage—that was thought a very severe ordeal, as he was to perform it merely to prove his parentage, and not to assert his right to the crown, yet he consented to it, and thus was performed the severest ordeal that ever took place in Norway: nine red-hot plough-shares were laid down, and he walked over them with his feet naked, led by two bishops; three days after this the ordeal was tried and his feet were found unhurt!" (See *Snorra Sturlusonar Heimskringla, Saga Sigurdar Jorsalafara*, cap. xxxiii.) This trial was censured even by the Norwegian clergy, as being too severe; but Sigurd, wishing to get rid of a claimant to a part of his kingdom, proposed the most severe ordeal he had seen in other countries, (he had travelled much) and still to no purpose.

Exactly the same ordeal was used in England: "The resolution of the synod, as reported by the Archbishop, was this—that Emma, the queen mother, should be sentenced to go on her bare feet over nine plough shares heated red hot in the presence of the clergy and the people, in the cathedral church of Winchester." (See *History of the Trials*, p. 3.) "Thus in England, too, the ordeal co-existed with the trial by jury, and was often applied in cases of the greatest moment."—*Repp's Forensic Institutions*, Edinburgh, 1832, p. 43. See *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 151, for a similar custom; and *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, vol. i, cap. viii.

NOTE II.—PAGE 93.

GODDARD CROVAN, AND OTHER KINGS OF HIS LINE.

The period from the accession of Goddard Crovan, to the death of Godred, the son of Olave Kleining, has hitherto been a very confused portion of Manks history, resulting evidently from an adherence to the dates of the *Chronicles of Man*, or of the *Cello Normanica*.

It is known that the battle of Standford bridge was fought in September, 1066. If Goddard Crovan was actually present at that defeat, of which there seems to be no doubt, and subsequently made his escape with Olave, the son of Harald Halfagr to Man, it seems impossible that, after remaining there for some time, he could have proceeded to Norway, and from thence made three descents upon the Isle of Man within the same year, 1066, for such it was according to the *Chronicles of Man*. A recent writer on the Western Isles, (*Macculloch*, vol. iii, p. 36) alludes to this anachronism, but he has gone astray in confounding Goddard Crovan with king Goddard of the Isles, the father of Fingall. I have adopted the more probable data of the Norse Sagas, which fixes the period of Goddard Crovan's conquest in A.D. 1077, thereby allowing a reasonable time for the performance of all the adventures alluded to in Goddard's history, between the defeat at Standford Bridge, and his obtaining possession of the Isle of Man.

The following chronological table of the kings of Man from the accession of Goddard Crovan to the death of Godred, the son of Olave Kleining, shows how widely the most accredited chroniclers differ as to dates in treating of dark periods:—

	Reign commenced, according to			Ceased to reign, according to		
	Camden,	Johnstone	Norse Sagas and Irish Annals,	Camden,	Johnstone	Norse Sagas and Irish Annals,
Goddard Crovan	1066	1056	1077	1082	1072	1093
Lagman, the son of Goddard	1082	1073	1103	1089	—	1110
Donald, the son of Tade	1089	1075	1111	—	—	1112
Ingemund	1097	1077	1114	—	—	1114
Olave, the son of Goddard	1102	1103	1114	1142	1143	1154
Godred Kleining	1144	1144	1154	1187	1187	1187

If Godred Kleining ascended the throne of Man in 1144, as stated by both Camden and Johnstone, and reigned only 33 years, he must have died in 1177, and not in 1187, as stated by these writers; but it appears from other sources that he reigned forty-four years. The grand error of the chronicle is two-fold, first in confounding the two expeditions of Magnus Barefoot; and, secondly, in placing their single confused expeditions *after* the accession of Donald, the son of Tade, and that of Ingemund; whereas all the Norse Sagas are agreed that the first expedition of Magnus took place in the reign of Goddard Crovan, and in the last year of the reign of Malcolm Canmore. In support of this the *Irish Annals* are distinct that Magnus died in 1103; and that Donald obtained the Isles in A.D. 1111. From the death of Godred Kleining, *Camden*, *Johnstone*, the *Sagas*, *Annals*, and the *Chronicles of Man* agree.

The remaining kings of the line of Goddard Crovan, are as under:—

	Began to Reign.	Died, A.D.
Reginald	1187	1228
Olave, surnamed the Black	1226	1237
Harald	1237	1249
Reginald	1249	1252
Magnus	1252	1263

NOTE III.—PAGE 94.

GRANTS TO THE CHURCH.

It is a singular fact in the history of monastic establishments, that most of them were founded in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—a general belief having prevailed throughout christendom that the world would be destroyed at the end of the prophetic period of twelve hundred and sixty years from the birth of Christ: (*Revelations*, cap. 12.) the immediate consequence of which was that large secular possessions were given up to the church for the erection and endowment of religious establishments, thereby to secure, if possible, the favour of heaven in such an emergency. It was thus that, in less than half a century, upwards of fifteen hundred of these edifices were erected in England, and a proportionate number in Scotland. King David I. made so many grants to the church, that James I. said, when visiting his tomb at Dunfermline, “he was a sore saint for the crown.”—*Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i, p. 366. Hence the magnificent donations made at that period by the kings of Norway and of Man to the Monastery and Abbot of Rushen.—*Calendars of Ancient Charters: Catalogue of Muniments*, p. 344.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 98.

MOARMOR.

Moarmor meant, anciently, in Scotland, a great Baron or Lord. It is a question that has been often asked, yet never been satisfactorily answered—when were the titles of Earl and Baron introduced into Scotland? The late Lord Kaimes answers explicitly, that it was Malcolm Canmore who introduced both.—*Essay on British Antiq.* p. 21. But that learned person did not know that the prince, the people, and the policy of North Britain were all Celtic in the reign of Malcolm. Wallace, following the speculative tract of Lord Kaimes, gave it, as his opinion, that Earldoms were probably more ancient than the time of Malcolm.—*Ancient Peerages*, p. 51. Scotland was divided into districts, such as Galloway, which were ruled hereditarily by distinguished persons, who were called, in the Gaelic speech, “*Moarmors*,” in Latin, “*Comes*,” and in Danish, “*Jarl*,” which was easily traduced into the English “*Earl*,” but there was certainly no erection of any Earldom, or creation of an Earl, in the reign of Malcolm, as Lord Kaimes and the peerage writers suppose. Moarmors assumed the titles of Earls when the word Moarmor became obsolete; and Comes became fashionable. Both Comites and Barons existed, undoubtedly, under David I.—*Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. i, book iv, cap. ii.

CHAPTER V.

NORWEGIAN LINE OF KINGS, FROM A.D. 1170 TO 1265.

King Godred returns to Man—Is married to the Daughter of an Irish King—Is defeated in Ireland by Milo Cogan—War in Galloway—Godred submits to the Authority of the Pope's Legate—Fall of an Aspirant to the Manks Throne—Matrimonial Alliance with John de Courcy, Duke of Ulster—Death of Godred—Reginald, a natural Son of Godred, usurps the Throne—Assists De Courcy, his Brother-in-Law—Is defeated, and De Courcy made Prisoner—Rebellion of Angus, Son of Somerled—King John sends Fulko-de-Cantelupe to subdue the Isle of Man—Reginald does homage to King John, and receives a Knight's Fee of Corn and Wine—His Brother, Olave the Black, is liberated from Prison—Receives from Reginald the Island of Lewis, with the Title of King—Reginald, to support his usurpation, first does homage to Henry III, and then surrenders the Island to the Pope—The Queen of Man forms a Plot to murder Olave the Black, which terminates in the Death of her own Son—Reginald cedes the half of the Isles to Olave, and then applies to Allan, Lord of Galloway, to assist in dethroning him—Reginald deposed, and Olave called to the Throne—During the absence of Olave, Allan plunders the Isle of Man—Battle between Olave and Reginald, in which the latter is slain—Reginald's Character—Olave visits Norway to do homage to King Haco—Assists him against the Sudereyan Kings—Battle of Isla Sound—Storming of the Castle of Bute—Olave resumes the Government of Man—Assassination of Paul Balkason and Godred Don—Olave receives a Knight's Fee from the King of England—The Manks assist their Gallovidian Neighbours—Death and Character of Olave—Succeeded by his eldest Son Harold—Battle in Man—Harold is confirmed in his Possessions by the Norwegian King—Is knighted by Henry III.—Proceeds to Norway—Marries Haco's Daughter—The Royal Party drowned at Sea—Reginald, his Successor, slain—Usurpation of the Government—Magnus the Son of Olave the Black raised to the throne of Man—Expedition of Haco—Battle of Largs—Death and Character of Magnus the last King of the Norwegian Line.

FROM the many claims advanced by factious aspirants to the crown of the Isles, it appears manifest to us that little regard was paid, in those days, to the indefeasible right of primogeniture.

Immediately after the death of Somerled, Reginald, a natural son of Olave Kleining, raised his standard in Man; but Godred arriving at that juncture with an army from Norway, where he had remained in exile during the usurpation of Somerled,¹ succeeded in taking the aspirant prisoner, and after causing his eyes to be put out, treated him with other marks of severity.

Godred was hailed with joy by his old subjects, from whom he had now been so long absent that all former grievances were mutually forgot. Desirous, therefore, to settle the affairs of his government with prudence and moderation, he took a journey through the Out-Isles for this purpose, and was cordially welcomed by all classes of his subjects.

He received in marriage Phingola, daughter of Melughlin, king of Ireland; but, from this connection, he was induced to take more interest in Irish affairs than perhaps tended to the interest of his Manks subjects. Asculph, king of the Danes of Dublin, having been defeated in battle and driven from his kingdom by the native Irish, applied to Godred king of the Isles, and Huan of the Orkneys, to aid him in his struggle for the recovery of his dominions. These sovereigns with a united fleet of sixty ships set sail from Man, and arrived in the harbour of Dublin. A.D. 1171. When their troops, however, were attempting to enter the city, Milo Cogan, then commanding the garrison, sallied out of the citadel and put the whole to flight. Many were slain, among whom was Huan of the Orkneys. Asculph was taken prisoner, and by order of the Commander-in-chief, instantly beheaded.²

¹ *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 41.

² *Ware's Annals of Ireland*, edition 1705, p. 5; *Donovan's Annals of Dublin*, edition 1832; *Macpherson's Dissertations*, p. 277.

Godred afterwards entered into a treaty with Roderick O'Connor, king of Ireland, to assist him in expelling the English from Ireland; but the result of that fruitless undertaking is generally known.¹

A.D. 1175. While these events were passing in Ireland, war raged with exterminating fury in Galloway. Gilbert, the powerful lord of that province, had rebelled against William the Lion, king of Scotland; but in the course of fighting twenty battles against the king's forces, the followers of the Gallovidian chief had been so much reduced that Gilbert was forced to seek shelter in the Isle of Man.²

The marriage of Godred with his queen Phingola not having taken place according to the rites of the Catholic church, Pope Alexander III, sent Vivian, cardinal legate of the apostolic see, to the Isle of Man with a commission to see the king married in proper form. To Silvan, abbot of Rieval, was committed the honour of performing the ceremony. On this occasion Godred presented, as an offering to the church, a portion of the land of Mirescoge,³ where he built a monastery⁴ and endowed a small plantation of the Cistercian order of monks. In after times this donation was transferred to the abbey of Saint Mary of Rushen, whither also the monks were transferred.

A.D. 1187. In this year appeared another stickler for the sovereignty of the Isles in the person of Reginald, the son of Eac Marcat of the blood royal. Having landed on the Manks shore with a band of ragged Gallowglasses from Ulster, he immediately raised the standard of rebellion; but the alarm of invasion had no sooner spread than

¹ *Ware's Annals of Ireland*, p. 5.

² *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i, p. 380.

³ Mirescoge is conjectured to be the place now called Ballamona in the parish of Kirk Christ Lezayre.—*Feltham*, p. 170.

⁴ *Johnstone's Celto Normannica*, p. 71.

the people assembling with their wonted alacrity put the whole banditti to death, and left the bones of the leader to bleach on the shore.¹

About this time, John de Courcy, having gained, by right of conquest, the province of Ulster, in order the better to bind Godred, the king of Man, to his interest, and strengthen himself against his enemies, proposed to marry Affrica, the king's daughter. The proposal was readily agreed to, and the ceremony was soon afterwards performed.²

Queen Phingola, at the time of this marriage, having only been married nine years to Godred, it may be inferred that Affrica was not the offspring of their union; and who her mother was is not recorded.

Godred, being given to the pleasures of the chase, established a royal forest in Man, and enacted forest-laws somewhat similar to those established by Howel Dha, in Wales, two centuries before.³ He continued to conduct the affairs of his government with great activity until the time of his death, which occurred in 1187, in the thirty-third year of his reign. In the following summer his remains were conveyed to Iona, and deposited in the tomb of the kings of his race, with great pomp and solemnity.⁴ Godred left only one lawful son, Olave, surnamed the Black, who was thirteen years of age at the time of his father's decease. He had, also, two illegitimate sons, Reginald and Ivar, and one daughter.

In order to prevent disputes among his children after his death, as to the right of succession, Godred had nominated his son Olave, when only ten years of age, as his successor in the government of the Isles; and the Manks people had made oath to acknowledge no other

¹ *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden.

² *Ware's Annals of Ireland*, p. 34.

³ *Warrington's History of Wales*, p. 111.

⁴ *Celts Normannica; Maclean's Iona*, p. 109.

king, when Olave should succeed his father by right of inheritance. Immediately, however, on the demise of Godred, they dispatched messengers, officially, to Reginald, his natural son, and laid at his feet the crown and sceptre of the Isles.*¹

A.D. 1188. The reason assigned for this breach of faith, as well as act of injustice, was that Olave being too young to be intrusted with the reins of government, it would be more for the safety of the state to be governed by a prince of more advanced years. But the secret interest of his brother-in-law De Courcy, Earl of Ulster, with whom Reginald resided, is assigned as the true cause of such a choice being made.

If De Courcy had exerted himself to accomplish the elevation of his young relation from an idea that he might soon require his sovereign aid, he had calculated well. By birth, a lineal descendant of Louis IV, king of France, it was supposed this high pedigree, together with his rich possessions, had combined to give De Courcy a haughty demeanour, which was the cause of producing to him many enemies. Among the most treacherous of these was Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, who found at last an opportunity of gratifying his long cherished enmity.²

It will be remembered that Richard I, king of England, when he entered on the holy war, declared his nephew Arthur, duke of Brittany, his successor, and, by a formal deed in his favour, set aside the title of his own brother, John; but that Arthur was murdered in prison when John mounted the throne.³ De Courcy was one of the party who accused king John of being accessory to

* Appendix, Note i, "Ceremony of Crowning the Kings of the Isles.

¹ In those days illegitimacy did not incapacitate any person in the northern parts of Europe from succeeding his father in the possession of an estate or a kingdom.—*Macpherson's Dissertations*, p. 279.

² *Leland's History of Ireland*, Dublin, 1774, vol. i, p. 173.

³ *Hume's History of England*, chap. xi.

the murder of his nephew. Stung with reproach, John summoned him to repair to his presence and do him homage; but De Courcy treated the mandate with contempt. The king placed a commission in the hands of De Lacy to subdue the refractory baron, and to send him prisoner to London.

A.D. 1204. De Lacy, gratified with having such a warrant to execute, invited the Earl, or, as he is sometimes called the Duke, of Ulster to his castle, who having no suspicion of the treachery, accepted the invitation; but on entering the gates he was made prisoner.¹ Having succeeded, however, in effecting his escape, De Courcy passed over to the Isle of Man to obtain the assistance of his brother-in-law Reginald, king of the Isles, who, with becoming gratitude, called into action the disposable force of his dominions, on behalf of his valiant kinsman.

A.D. 1205. In obedience to the call of the *War-Arrow*, one hundred vessels, the greater part of them from the Out-Isles, rendezvoused in Ramsey Bay, whence, with a large land force, they steered for the coast of Ireland, under the joint command of the lord of Ulster, and the sovereign of the Isles. The troops disembarked at Strandford Haven, and laid siege to Rath Castle; but John de Courcy, who had gained many victories in Ireland, was now destined to experience as signal reverses. Walter de Lacy, lord of Meath, the brother of Hugh, with a tumultuous army of Gallowglasses,* not only forced him to raise the siege of Rath Castle, but afterwards succeeded in capturing his unfortunate enemy. Reginald returned to Man with only the shattered remains of the finest army of native troops that had ever left the Island.²

¹ *Ware's Annals of Ireland*; edition 1705, p. 173.

* Appendix, Note ii, "Gallowglasses."

² *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, *ap. Camden*; *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 46. Affrica, the wife of De Courcy, died in Ireland and was buried

Notwithstanding the devastating issue of this expedition, we are informed by another authority, that Harold Jarl, of the Orkneys, raised an army of adventurers in Man, and fitted out a fleet to convey them to the Orcades, where they re-conquered all the Islands which had submitted to the forces of Sutormus Birkebein, the regent of Norway, during the minority of Ingo Baarson.¹

A.D. 1210. Reginald having lost his nearest ally, the crown began to sit uneasy on his brow. Angus, the son of Somerled, having raised the standard of rebellion in the Out-Isles, was defeated in the Isle of Skye. Nothing daunted by that disaster, he recruited his force in Argyll, and, with a legion of Kitterans, gave battle to Reginald, in Man, where he was slain along with his three sons who had accompanied him in his unfortunate enterprise.²

A.D. 1211. The assistance rendered by Reginald to the refractory baron of Ulster, had given great displeasure to king John, of England, who dispatched Fulko de Cantelupe, a knight of violent temper and rude manners,³ with a large army from Ireland, to chastise Reginald for his imprudence; but he being on a progress through the Isles at the time of Fulko's arrival in Man, the fury of the latter fell chiefly on the inhabitants, after plundering whom and taking hostages for their fidelity, he departed.⁴

The absence of Reginald from the seat of his government, when his capital was plundered by the furious Fulko, was not, as he wished his subjects to believe, the mere result of chance. He foresaw well the approaching storm, and to ensure his own personal safety and that of

in the abbey of Leigh or De Jugo Dei, in Down, which she had founded in 1193, and supplied with monks from the abbey of Holmcultram.—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, p. 94. Affrica left one son, named Miles, who was created Baron Kingsail, of whom the present Lord Kingsail is a lineal descendant.

¹ *Johnstone's Celto Norm.*; *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table cxc.

² *Johnstone's Celto Normanicæ*, p. 70.

³ *Hume's History of England*, chap. xi.

⁴ *Chronicles of Man*; *Sacheverell*, p. 46.

a few favourites, he sought shelter in the most remote Isle of his dominions. This shallow pretext was easily perceived by his subjects, and it only served to withdraw from him the more the already ebbing current of their affections. Reginald had agreed to do homage to the English king for the Isle of Man and the Out-Isles, for which he was to receive yearly, at Drogheda, on the 26th May, a knight's fee of two tuns of wine, and one hundred and twenty quarters of corn.¹ The Manks, therefore, now began to find that however high their expectations of their monarch might have been at one time, they had been completely baulked by the truckling policy which he had pursued since the commencement of his reign. Those influential persons who had befriended him at his outset, now withdrew their confidence, and for his actions he was branded as a knave and a coward even by the meanest of his subjects.

A.D. 1214. Under pretence of sending his brother Olave, called the Black, to be educated at the court of William I, king of Scotland, he sent him into confinement; but when Alexander II, on the death of his father, William, ascended the throne, he set at liberty all the state prisoners in the realm. The gates of Merchmont Castle were consequently thrown open to Olave, who had been confined there since the year 1208.

Influenced by the superstitious notions of devotion which then prevailed, Olave, immediately on his liberation, set out on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James of Compostella,² whence, after offering up thanks for his providential deliverance from captivity, he returned to Man, and was received by Reginald with great apparent

¹ *Leland's History of Ireland*, Dublin, 1774, vol. i, p. 182; *Seacome's Account of the Isle of Man*, 1741, p. 12. Notwithstanding Reginald's acceptance of this small gratuity from the king of England, he was so wealthy as to purchase the whole district of Caithness, from William the Lion, king of Scotland.—*Johnstone's Cello Normannica*, p. 52.

² *Johnstone's Cello Normannica*, p. 72.

affection. Having prevailed upon him to marry Lavon, a sister of his queen, and supposed by some to be a daughter of Somerled,¹ Reginald surrendered to him the Island of Lewis, with the title of king, on which barren Isle Olave took up his residence.

Disturbed by the recollection of the injustice done his brother, by usurping his crown, and fearing lest he might now, when at liberty, be striving to recover it, Reginald maintained only a feverish and uneasy existence; and still losing the esteem of his subjects, we find him endeavouring to bolster up his falling power by foreign alliance.

A.D. 1219. In this year Henry III, of England, granted to him letters of safe conduct, to come to England and do him homage; and two years after, the same king writes to Maurice Fitz Gerald, lord justice of Ireland, "to deliver to Reginald, king of Man, his knight's fee of two tuns of wine, and one hundred and twenty quarters of corn, granted him annually by the charter of king John, his father."² Not satisfied, however, with being the subject king of Henry, this vacillating usurper infamously surrendered his dominions to the Pope, in order to hold his crown from the see of Rome,³ paying annually therefore twelve marks to the abbey of Furness.⁴

All these efforts were unavailing to him in securing the peaceable possession of his kingdom, which was again destined to feel all the miseries of a civil war. The bishop, in open conclave, divorced Lavon from her husband, Olave the Black, on account of her being the cousin of his former wife.⁵ The holy father, who thus wielded

¹ *Macculloch's Western Isles*, vol. iii, p. 45.

² *Seacombe's House of Stanley*, p. 12.

³ *Johnstone's Cello Normannica*, p. 72.

⁴ Appendix, Note iii, "Surrender of the Isle to the Pope."

⁵ It may not be improper here to remark that Reginald submitted to the crown of England on the express condition that the admiralty of the seas should belong to him.—*Bishop Wilson*, ap. *Ward's Ancient Records*, pp. 17, 18.

⁶ *Johnstone's Cello Normannica*.

the thunder of the church so rigorously, was Ronald, the nephew of the brothers, Olave and Reginald, and he had, perhaps, been induced by a political motive to dissolve the matrimonial union of his uncle. Olave, however, soon afterwards married Scristina, daughter of Ferquhard, earl of Ross, by Maud, sister of Robert I. king of Scotland. This gallant earl commanded the third division of the army of Alexander II. in Galloway, when he collected his forces to suppress the rebellion of Thomas Mac-Du-Allan.¹

Thirsting to revenge her sister's divorce, the wife of Reginald sent private directions to her son Godred, then in the Isle of Skye, to put his uncle Olave to death, for the disgrace which he had imposed on their family by the repudiation of Lavon.

Olave of Lewis was possessed of many of those showy characteristics which often render princes popular without any solid virtue to justify or reward the partiality of the people. He had already become the idol of his subjects, and was, as already hinted, the cause of great disquietude to the reigning sovereign of Man. It was perhaps as much on this account, as from feelings of wounded honour, that the barbarous queen was induced to send such diabolical directions to her no less barbarous son. Godred, with his assembled clansmen, immediately hastened to Lewis to put his mother's mandate into execution. Fortunately, Olave had just time to escape in an open boat; in which, although the weather was boisterous, he reached in safety the castle of his father-in-law on the main-land.

In the bitterness of disappointed revenge, Godred, or as he was called, the Dragon of the Isles, pillaged the island of Lewis, and put to death many of the inhabitants who were most noted for their attachment to his uncle.²

¹ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 381.

² *Chronicles of Man; Celto Normanica.*

The tyrannical conduct of young Godred, in Skye, gave great offence to Paul Balkason, a person of high influence, and a valiant warrior. On the gathering of the clans for the invasion of Lewis, he set sail privately for the mainland with the intention of rousing the men of Ross against the intended assassins of Olave. Singularly enough, Paul and Olave, unknown to each other, reached the castle of the earl of Ross at nearly the same time.

A.D. 1223. There, entering into alliance, they set sail for Iona, where it was understood Godred and a few friends were regaling themselves without any apprehension of danger. Having effected a disembarkation during the night, without being discovered, they at break of day put all to the sword without the precincts of the church. Godred, in striving to gain the sanctuary, was taken prisoner, and notwithstanding the most lively remonstrances in his behalf on the part of Olave, his eyes were put out by Paul Balkason.¹

A.D. 1224. Olave having this summer received hostages from the nobles of the Isles, accompanied by his friend Paul, steered direct to the Isle of Man. Reginald, afraid to hazard an engagement, ceded to him one-half of the Isles, and gave him a plentiful supply of provisions. Olave, however, had no sooner set sail for his new dominions, than the duplicity of Reginald appeared, in his applying to Allan, lord of Galloway, for his assistance, when outwardly at peace with his brother.

Galloway had been wasted by a civil war between the rival brothers, Uchtred and Gilbert. But Roland, the son of the former, who was a good soldier and a munificent statesman, had maintained the independence of the province, in despite of Henry II. He had even led his warlike soldiers into the north, and conquered the pretender, Mac William.² Allan, the son of Ronald, was like-

¹ *Sacheverell's Description of Man*, p. 48.

² *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 258; *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. i, pp. 348, 355.

wise a valiant warrior. He had led "the wild men of Galloway who pillaged wheresoever they went, and eat flesh in lent,"¹ into the western borders of England. But this circumstance did not prevent him from acceding to the wishes of Reginald. He sailed with that faithless prince to the Hebrides, intending to dethrone Olave, but as their army, consisted chiefly of Manksmen, who had a partiality for the Black Prince of the Isles, and refused to fight against him, they were forced to return home without having accomplished their object.²

Reginald, shortly afterwards, under pretence of making a journey to the court of England, obtained from his subjects one hundred marks in order to defray his expences. No sooner, however, had he received the money, than he proceeded direct to the court of Allan, and on his arrival in Galloway had his daughter married to Thomas Dubh, a natural son of that nobleman, who was afterwards created Earl of Atholl.³

A.D. 1226. Such a misapplication of public generosity greatly disturbed the tranquillity of the Manks. They saw themselves ungratefully imposed on; and remembering their own injustice to their lawful prince, they, by universal suffrage, sent for Olave, and presented him with the sceptre of the Isles.

A.D. 1228. The consent of the people and the approbation of the king of Norway seemed always requisite to the succession of the throne of Man. Where either of these were wanting it generally proved fatal to the prince and disastrous to the people. In the second year of his reign, Olave the Black, with all the nobility, and many of the military inhabitants of the Isle of Man, made a tour of the Isles, seemingly unaware of the storm which was gathering on the opposite coast.

¹ *Haile's Annals of Scotland*, A.D. 1258.

² *Chronicles of Man*; *Sacheverell*, p. 50; *Wood*, p. 349.

³ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 389.

Taking advantage of this absence of all the constituted authorities, Allan, lord of Galloway, Thomas, earl of Atholl, and the discomfited Reginald, collected one hundred and fifty vessels, well supplied with men and arms, and at the head of this powerful army made a descent upon the Isle of Man. They spoiled the churches, put the greater part of the inhabitants to death, and spread desolation over the Island. Having thus gratified their revenge, the invaders returned to Galloway, leaving bailiffs to collect the tribute required from the people; but Olave returning, speedily drove away the tax-gatherers, and recalled the natives who had fled to escape the fury of the invaders.¹

A.D. 1229. The unhappy land of Man was not destined long to enjoy the blessing of peace. Reginald again, unexpectedly, arrived at St. Patrick's Isle, now called Peel, in the middle of winter, when it was perilous to navigate that boisterous sea, and burnt all the ships belonging to Olave, along with those of the Hebridean chiefs. He made a tour of the Island, pretending to crave forgiveness of his brother, but he ingratiated himself so much with the inhabitants, that he found a party among them so zealous in his cause, that they took an obligation never to desist, even at the peril of their lives, until they had reinstated him in his portion of the Isles.

The northern men adhering as firmly to Olave, both parties prepared for battle on St. Valentine's day. Olave proceeded to the Tynwald Hill, whither also Reginald advanced with his forces. A keen engagement ensued, in which the men of the southern division were driven from the field, and Reginald was slain by the pursuers, while striving to escape to the coast, although without the knowledge of Olave. Reginald's remains were carried by

¹ *Macpherson's Annals of Commerce*, vol. i, p. 387; *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 369; *Sackeversell*, p. 54; *Abercromby's Martial Achievements*, edition 1762, p. 395; *Torfaus's His. Rerum Orcades*, edition 1697, p. 161.

the monks of Rushen to the Abbey of Furness, where they were interred in a place which had been chosen by himself.¹ Many fell in the conflict; and to increase the calamity, a band of free-booters landing on the southern coasts of the Island, first pillaged and then left it almost a desert.²

Thus fell the tyrant Reginald, a man destitute of virtue, treacherous, unjust, and cruel, and ever ready to gain his object by the most dishonourable means. His claim to real valour is greatly diminished by his voluntary homage to king John, and his pusillanimous submission to the Pope. In comparing his character with that of John, his contemporary, there is a striking similarity. Both princes were subtle and adventurous. The English monarch gained his crown by the murder of his nephew; the Manks prince by the exile of his brother; and as they gained the government of their respective countries by injustice, so they lost them by oppressing their subjects. Both offended the clergy, insulted the nobility, and violated the rights and possessions of the people, while the regal dignity of both was compromised by their submission to the Pope. Yet, we are told by the historians of Norway, that Reginald was the most famous warrior in the western parts of Europe, during his time. It had been the practice of some famous pirates among the old Normans to live for three years without entering a house *which emitted any smoke*. Reginald had conformed himself to this custom, and of course became capable of sustaining great hardships of every kind, which seems to have shaded all his imperfections from the eyes of the Norwegians.³

A.D. 1230. The Isles were still considered tributary

¹ *Johnstone's Celto Nor.*, p. 151; *Southwell, ap. Hollinshead*, vol. i, p. 404.

² *Celto Normanicæ*, p. 151.

³ *Torfeus's Orcades*, pp. 146, 164; *Barry's History of the Orkney Islands*, quarto edition, p. 175.

to Norway, paying ten gold marks on the succession of each Norwegian king.¹ Olave not having done homage to Haco Hagenson, the reigning sovereign of Norway, proceeded for this purpose to Bergen, where he was kindly entertained at court by the king and all the nobility present. He there explained to Haco the great power of Allan lord of Galloway, communicating at the same time his boasted intention of not only subduing the Æbudæ, but even of invading Norway.²

According to the Northern writers, there were at the time Olave visited Norway, three other kings of the Sudereys subject to the Norwegian monarch.³ These were, Dugal-Scrag, or Shrill-voice, Duncan, his brother, and Somerled, their relation. The king of Norway had conferred the title of king on Uspac,⁴ whom he termed Haco, and had dispatched him with a powerful armament to displace the Sudereyan sovereigns who had ceased to pay tribute to the crown of Norway. Olave being officially informed that Haco Uspac was charged with a royal mandate requiring the co-operation of all Manksmen in subduing the refractory kings, after remaining four days at court, set sail, in company with Paul Balkason, for the seat of war, having a fleet of twenty sail which was augmented on their touching at Kirkwall, by the present of a large ship from the Earl of Orkney, called the *Ox*.⁵

In Norway, Uspac was supposed to have been of mean origin, as he had been long among the Birkebeins,⁶ and

¹ Macculloch's *Western Isles*, London, 1824, vol. iii, p. 47.

² *Icelandic Anecdotes of Olave the Black*, p. 7.

³ In adverting to this portion of history, Mr. Dillon says, "The old Norwegian chroniclers are accustomed to confer the title of king on any petty chief, even though he commanded only a single piratical vessel," which accounts for there being four contemporary kings of the Western Isles.—*Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ii, part ii, edition 1831, p. 355.

⁴ Uspac signifies in the Norwegian language, "restless."

⁵ *Icelandic Anecdotes of Olave the Black*, p. 11.

⁶ The Birkebeins, at the time Uspac lived with them, were considered as the dregs of the people, and so poor, that instead of shoes they wore sandals made of the birch trees. Hence their name.—*Anecdotes of Olave*, p. 3.

had raised himself by his superior talents to high dignity; but, on his arrival at the Hebrides, he was discovered to be a brother of Dugal-Scrag, and of Duncan, who accordingly found what had been intended for their overthrow, turn to their advantage.

When Olave reached the sound of Isla,¹ he found Haco-Uspac, Duncan, Dugal-Scrag, and Somerled, with their respective fleets, rendezvoused there on friendly terms, as we are told that Duncan slept on board the ship of his brother Uspac.

On the arrival of Olave, the Sudereyans becoming alarmed at the superior force of the Norwegians, attempted to overcome them by stratagem, and having for that purpose plenty of strong wine on board, they invited them to an entertainment; but the Norwegians suspecting their fidelity, declined the invitation. On each commander drawing his fleet into close order, a dreadful onset was made by the Norwegians, which soon scattered the Sudereyan ships. Somerled was slain early in the engagement, while Dugal-Scrag escaped with the remains of the combined fleet. Duncan, who was taken prisoner, was afterwards liberated by his brother Haco-Uspac, whose vessel does not appear to have been engaged in the fight.

With an united force of eighty ships, Haco-Uspac and Olave the Black steered to the Isle of Bute, where the former was killed in an attack upon a fortress of that Island, as was also Swein the Swarthy, a man of great note, with about three hundred Norsemen.

As the Norwegians were about to evacuate the Isle of Bute, they received intelligence that Allan, Lord of Galloway, lay on the south side of Kintyre with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail ready to intercept their pro-

¹ According to Camden, "The Isle of Isla was next unto Man, the most favourite residence of the kings of the Isles."—*Britannia*, p. 215.

gress, which induced Olave, on whom the chief command of the armament had devolved on the death of Uspac, to set sail direct for the Isle of Man.

A party of the natives, commanded by Torkell, the son of Neil, assembled to oppose their landing; but when Olave made himself known no further opposition was offered. The Norwegians remained in Man during the winter, demanding threepence for every head of cattle in the Island for the maintainance of the army. On returning homewards they made a descent upon Kintyre; but when about to return to their ships, they found that the Scots had killed all the servants left on shore to prepare their victuals, and had carried off all their flesh kettles.¹

Olave remained in Man and resumed possession of his kingdom, agreeing to give the Out-Isles to his nephew, Godred Don, who commenced his career by murdering Paul Balkason, who, it may be recollected, had put out the eyes of another Godred, at Isla, in the year 1223. A.D. 1233. Godred Don was himself assassinated in Lewis, leaving, besides other issue, one son named Harold.²

A.D. 1236. By the death of Godred Don, Olave became again sovereign of the Isles. Having received from Henry III, a safe-conduct to come into England, he made a journey to the court of that monarch to do homage for the kingdom of Man and the Isles. Henry, in the same year, bestowed on him, forty marks, one hundred cra-

¹ *Icelandic Annals of Olave the Black*, p. 21; *Observations on the Norwegian Expedition against Scotland*, ap. *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 359.

² *Chronicles of Man*. It would appear that Reginald had two sons, the one named Godred and the other Godred Don; for it is scarcely to be conceived that the former, who had his eyes put out and was otherwise mutilated by Paul Balkason in 1223, could have been able to assume possession of the Out-Isles ten years afterwards. The more probable version, therefore, is that it was Godred Don, the second son, who divided the Isles with his uncle Olave, and who commenced his reign by murdering Paul Balkason for the cruelties committed on his brother. Johnstone says Paul fell in battle fighting against Godred Don.—*Celts Normanica; Account of Haco's Expedition*.

thocks of corn, and five tons of wine, with a commission for the defence of the sea coast. The Knight's fee of corn and wine to be paid annually by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at the term of Lent, so long as the service for which it was granted was effectually performed.¹

On the death of Allan, the last in the male line of the ancient princes of Galloway, the affairs of Man and the Hebrides became again influenced by the unsettled state of the Gallovidian government.² Allan left three daughters, and an illegitimate son, generally called Thomas Mac du Allan. By the marriage of the daughters and their succession to their inheritances, strangers of different lineages and tongues were introduced into Galloway, to the great annoyance of the natives, who preferred the bastard son of Allan to his legitimate daughters. On Alexander, king of Scotland, refusing, however, to recognise the right of Thomas, the Galloway-men broke out into rebellion against the "new race of men" introduced into their country. Ten thousand of the wild Scots of Galloway surrounded the standard of Black Thomas, besides a strong detachment of Manks soldiers commanded by their king in person.³

This rebellion was put down by the forces of the Scottish king. Five thousand of the rebels were slain; Gibroddh, the commander of the Irish legion, escaped to Ireland, as did Olave to Man; but Somerled, the chief of the Argyllshire-men, was made captive by the Earl of March, and conveyed, with a rope round his neck, to the king; other chieftains of less note were hanged and quartered at Edinburgh.⁴

¹ *Calendars of Ancient Charters with Rolls and Schedules of Fealties done in the Isle of Man*, London, 1772, p. 429; *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. i, p. 342.

² *Buchanan's History of Scotland*, book vii; *Chalmers' Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 369.

³ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, London, 1767, vol. i, p. 381.

⁴ *Winton's Chron.*, vii, ix; *Chalmers' Caled.*, vol. iii, p. 370; *Hollinshead*, vol. i, p. 396; *Fordun*, ix, xlviii.

It has been already stated that Olave Kleining married Affrica, daughter of Fergus, lord of Galloway,¹ and when we add to this, that Thomas the Black, son of Allan, married a daughter of Godred Don, we may infer that it was probably from these and other connections that the Galloway family became so much interested in the affairs of the Western Isles and of Man, and that Olave was induced personally to engage in striving to establish Thomas Mac du Allan in the principality of Galloway. This was the last public undertaking in which we find him engaged, as he died at Peel Castle A.D. 1237, in the eleventh year of his reign, leaving three sons, Harold, Reginald, and Magnus.²

Olave the Black was a prince worthy of a better kingdom and better subjects. Uninfluenced by ambitious views, and solicitous only for the welfare and happiness of his subjects, he was more employed in reforming their savage manners than in showing the magnitude of his power, or in striving to extend the boundaries of his dominions.

A.D. 1238. On the death of his father, Harold the eldest son of Olave, succeeded to the kingdom of Man and the Isles, although then only in the fourteenth year of his age. In the first year of his reign he set out to make the circuit of his dominions, attended by a numerous train of his nobility, leaving his cousin Lauchlan viceroy in Man during his absence.³

In his progress through the Isles, the people received him with every demonstration of joy. In every Island on which he landed, from Arran to Uist, "The heroes gathered to the feast—aged oaks blazed in the wind—and the strength of the shells went round to the health of the king of many isles."⁴

¹ Chapter iv, p. 91.

² *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, p. 773.

³ *Icelandic Anecdotes of Olave the Black*, p. 19.

⁴ *Ossian's Fingall*, book vii.

In the following autumn he despatched the three sons of Nial, Dugal, Torkel, and Maol Mhuise on a mission to his viceroy in Man. They arrived in the Island on the 24th October, and according to appointment were received by the viceroy, three days afterwards, at the Tynwald Hill, where, on some quarrel arising between them, a skirmish ensued, in which Dugal and Maol Mhuise were killed, along with a person named Joseph.

A.D. 1239. Next year Harold returned to the capital of his kingdom; but on his arrival, Lauchlan fled with Godred his foster-son and a retinue of about forty persons who were all drowned on the coast of Wales.¹

A.D. 1240. Harold having refused to appear at the court of Norway, to do homage for his kingdom, the Isle of Man was invaded by a Norwegian force under the command of Gospatrick, and Gilchrist the son of Mac Kirthanck, who converted the revenues of the country to the services of the Norwegian king. In consequence of this, Harold was forced to proceed to Bergen, where, after performing the desired homage, his possessions were confirmed to him by a charter, under the great seal of the kingdom;² on which he returned to Man, and was joyfully welcomed by his people.

A.D. 1247. In this year, by letters patent from Henry III, dated in the thirty-first year of his reign, Harold was permitted to go to England. On his arrival at the court of St. James, he was honoured with the order of knighthood, a distinction in those days only conferred on persons of high birth and merit, but such a degree could certainly not add to the dignity of a king.

When Alexander II, king of Scotland, was preparing

¹ *Chronicles of Man*, ap. Camden; *Johnstone's Celto Normanicæ*, p. 151.

² In the *Catalogue of Muniments* there is a memorandum of a "Charter of the King of Norway over the Island of Bute with certain other grants to the King of Man," but in what year these grants were made does not appear.—*Calendars of Ancient Charters with Rolls and Schedules of Fealties done in the Isle of Man*, p. 344.

to subdue the Western Isles, it would appear that the Manks apprehended that their Island would be the first object of his attack, as there is on record a letter from the inhabitants of Man to that monarch, imploring his mercy, and immediately afterwards follows a communication from "Alexander, king of Scotland, to the Bishop of Soderensis, conceding that he would not go to Man at that time."¹ Before, however, he had effected any thing decisive, it will be recollected that he died at Kerreray.²

When Alexander III. succeeded his father in the Scottish throne, he was only eight years of age. Afraid, however, that when he attained majority he might follow out the plans of his father by striving to reclaim the Hebrides from Norway, Haco the reigning sovereign of that kingdom neglected no opportunity of strengthening his authority in these islands. On different occasions he entertained Ewen Konongr Gilchrist, the son of Rudri, and Magnus, the powerful Earl of Orkney; and in order still more to tighten the bands of his authority, he invited Harold the young king of Man, A.D. 1247, to Norway, and gave him his daughter Cecilia in marriage. The ceremony was performed with great pomp, and the rejoicings throughout the kingdom were greater than had been witnessed on any former occasion of a similar nature.

In the suite of Harold was Lawrence, then bishop elect of Man, and a numerous train of nobility; with these and a great many attendants on the young queen from her father's court, Harold left Bergen for the Isle of Man. But on the voyage he was overtaken by a sudden storm, in which the royal party were cast away, and perished on the coast of Rudland—a sad conviction that the highest felicities of life are too often only the forerunners of final ruin.³

¹ *Calendars of Ancient Charters*, pp. 327, 329.

² *Abercromby's Martial Achievements*, edition 1762, vol. i, p. 396.

³ *Chronicles of Kings of Man*, ap. Camden; Southwell, ap. Hollinshead, vol. i,

Harold was a prince of distinguished abilities, and possessed many shining virtues.¹

A.D. 1249. Reginald, the next younger brother of the unfortunate Harold, assumed the government of Man on the 6th of May; but on the 30th of the same month, he was slain in a meadow near Trinity Church, in Rushen, by a knight called Ivar, who is supposed to be a natural son of king Godred; if so, the brother of king Reginald who surrendered the Island to the Pope, and therefore grand-uncle to the present Reginald. This unfortunate prince was interred in St. Mary's Church of Rushen, with due solemnity. He left only one child, a daughter, named Mary, who will be noticed more particularly in a subsequent chapter.

Magnus, the last surviving son of Olave the Black, was the next in succession to the crown of the Isles; but being resident at the time of Reginald's death, in some of the remote Hebrides, with Ewen Konongr, whose daughter he had married, the government was usurped, A.D. 1250, by Harold, the son of Godred Don,² who, sensible that he had no right to the crown, banished all the adherents of Harold Olaveson, and promoted his own partizans to every place of honor in the state.³

Haco, on hearing of the tragical fate of his daughter and son-in-law, committed to Ewen Konongr, great-grandson of Somerlid, otherwise called John of the Isles, who held large possessions as fiefs or military tenures from the crown of Norway,⁴ the administration of public affairs throughout the Ebudes, till one of the blood royal of the former kings should be formally called to the throne

p. 404; *Macculloch's Western Isles*, vol. iii, p. 48. This unfortunate event happened in the year 1248, according to *Torffæus* in his *History of the Orcades*, p. 104; but in the year following, if we believe the *Chronicle of the Kings of Man*.

¹ *Torffæus' History of the Orcades*, p. 164.

² Which signifies Godred the Brown.

³ *Chronicles of Man*; *Macpherson*, p. 290.

⁴ *Johnstone's Flateyan and Frisian Manuscripts*, Edinburgh, 1782.

of Man and the Isles, and at the same time, summoned Harold, the usurper, to Norway, where on his arrival, he was cast into prison.

A.D. 1256. Without regarding either the instructions of his master or the inclination of the people, John of the Isles, on his arrival in Man, assumed the regal title, and appointed his officers of state; but the people, provoked at this indignity, rose in a body and drove him and his followers from the Island, and unanimously proclaimed Magnus, the son of Olave, their king. This nomination was confirmed in due form subsequently by the reigning sovereign of Norway. Disappointed in his ambitious views by the elevation of his son-in-law to the crown of Man, John began to listen to the advantageous offer made to him by the Scottish monarch.¹

Alexander II. had in vain employed the strongest solicitations and most ample promises to induce him to renounce his allegiance to the king of Norway; but the conjuncture was now more favourable for Alexander III. John swore fealty to the Scottish king, and consequently did not render Haco the aid required of him at the battle of the Largs.²

The situation of the kings of the Isles, however, had now become peculiarly critical. Their territories, though extensive, were not such as to enable them to cope with any of the neighbouring states; while the power of Norway, by which they had been previously supported, was now on the wane. The sovereigns of England too exacted allegiance from the kings of Man; and Magnus was knighted by Henry III, as his brother had been, but in the present posture of affairs, that honour availed him little.

A.D. 1261. Alexander II. had united Galloway, then a powerful maritime county, to his dominions, and had

¹ *Torfaeus's History of the Orcaætes*, p. 164.

² *Johnstone's Flateyan and Frisian Manuscript*.

begun to take measures for obtaining permanent possession of the Hebrides by expelling the Norwegians. His son, Alexander III, as had been anticipated by the Norwegian king, renewed the negotiations with him for the cession of these Isles, which his father had commenced, but without effect. He was therefore obliged to look to other means than diplomacy for the accomplishment of his object.

The chiefs of some of the northern of the Hebridean Isles complained to Haco, that Kiarnarch, Earl of Ross, had laid waste their territories, regardless alike of their churches, and of the wives and children of the inhabitants, adding that the king of Scotland had declared his resolution not to desist until he was master of all the Western Isles, and Man.

A.D. 1263. Alarmed by this intelligence for the safety of his insular dominions, Haco, although now in the forty-sixth year of his reign, determined to proceed in person to the Hebrides, with all the troops which his means could supply.¹ He mustered his forces with such despatch, that, on the 11th July, he set sail from the port of Herlover, with the most formidable armament that had ever left the shores of Norway.²

The army disembarked at Kirkwall to celebrate the feast of St. Olave, and the principal officers were invited to a splendid banquet on board the king's own ship. Haco now dispatched messengers to the king of Man, and to the other kings of the Sudereys, intimating his arrival

¹ The Flateyan and Frisian manuscripts are the most ancient documents now extant, that contain an account of the life of Haco the Aged, and as such are highly valued by the northern nations. The first belongs to the library of the king of Denmark, while the latter is deposited in the Magnoan collection. From these documents the expedition of Haco to Scotland, in 1263, was extracted, and printed in the original Icelandic, with a literal English translation by the Rev. James Johnstone, chaplain to the British envoy at the court of Denmark, in 1780. A copy of this little tract is now in the library of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, from which the remaining part of this chapter is chiefly abridged.

² *Sturlaga Saga.*

in the western ocean, and commanding their attendance with all their disposable forces without the least delay.

Magnus, king of Man, joined the grand armament in the sound of Isla, and Dugall Konongr joined it at Kerreray. Haco had now above one hundred ships, chiefly of large dimensions, and well provided with men and arms. Of these, he placed fifty under the joint command of the king of Man and Dugall Konongr, and despatched them with orders to bring one thousand oxen for the use of the army from the estates of Angus, lord of Isla, and the lands of Murchard, lord of Kintyre. This sweeping order was, however, suddenly rescinded,¹ and the grand armament moved onward to its final destination.

“The Norse and Danish gallies plied
Their oars within the Frith of Clyde;
There floated Haco’s banner trim
Above Norwegian warriors grim,
Savage of heart and large of limb,
Threatening both continent and Isle—
Bute, Arran, Cunninghame, and Kyle.”²

According to Scottish historians, Haco on entering the Clyde had a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail.³ As soon as he had subdued the Isles of Bute and Arran, and had taken the castle of Ayr,* he despatched sixty vessels to Loch Long under the command of the Manks king and Dugall Konongr, “When they came to a neck of land they took to their boats and drew them up to a great lake, called Loch Lomond, in which there are many islands well inhabited. These Magnus wasted with fire.” “Allan, the brother of Dugall, marched far over into Scotland and killed great numbers of the inhabitants. He took many hundred head of cattle and made vast

¹ *Torfaeus’s History of the Orcades*, pp. 165, 166.

² *Sir Walter Scott’s Marmion*, canto iii.

³ *Buchanan’s Hist. of Scotland*, book vii; *Heron’s History of Scotland*, vol. i; *Abercromby’s Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*, edition 1762, vol. i, p. 391; *Torfaeus’s History of Orcades*, pp. 165, 166.

* Appendix, Note iv, “Castles taken by the Norwegians.”

havoc, west and east, but lost ten ships at a place called *Skipafjord*.”¹

The Norwegian king unwisely allowed himself to be entangled in negotiations with the wily Scots, who artfully prolonged them, in hopes that the equinoctial gales, which they daily expected, would drive the foreigners from their shores. In this case they had not calculated wholly without foundation, for on the first of October a dreadful hurricane arose, which destroyed, as above stated, ten of the foraging vessels in Loch Long.² Nor was the grand fleet in the Clyde more fortunate. “The troubled floods swept many fair gallies anchorless before their waves.”³ Even the king’s ship, which was held by *eight anchors*, was driven from its moorings and his majesty got on shore to save his life, at great personal hazard. The tempest continuing to rage with unabated violence during the succeeding day, many of Haco’s fleet were stranded on the beach near Largs, which was no sooner observed by the Scots than they assembled in numbers, and attacking the stranded ships succeeded in carrying off considerable booty ere Haco, with the remaining part of his army, could render them any assistance.

When the storm had abated the Norwegians disembarked, and having taken up a strong position at the side of a hill, prepared to withstand the Scots whom they saw advancing in formidable array. “In the Scottish

¹ *Norwegian Account of Haco’s Expedition*, p. 32.

² In the confines of the counties of Argyll and Dumbarton there is a bay, which is now called *Loch-Loung*, a Gaelic word of the same import with the *Skipafjord* of the Norse, which, according to Torfæus, signified *the bay of ships*.—*Macpherson’s Dissertations*, London, 1768, p. 296.

³ *Saga of Snorro Sturlson*, verse 15th. This bard accompanied the expedition of Haco to sing “The triumphs of the King.” The domestic bard of the Welsh king, in like manner, accompanied the army when they marched into the enemy’s country, and as they prepared for battle, he sung an ancient poem, called *Unbernriaeth Prydain*, or the monarchy of Britain. For this service, he was rewarded with the best beast taken on that expedition.—*Warrington’s History of Wales*, London, 1788, p. 156.

army were one hundred and fifty knights; all the horses had breastplates and there were many steeds in complete armour, besides a numerous array of foot soldiers." The right wing of the Scottish army was commanded by Alexander Stewart of Dondonald,¹ the left by Sir Patrick Dunbar, and the centre by the king himself.

A.D. 3rd Oct., 1263. It appears that the Scots commenced the battle with great impetuosity. Showers of weapons were poured upon the Norwegians, who defended themselves and retired in good order. But when they approached the sea, each one hurrying faster than another, their companions on the beach imagined they were routed; some therefore leaped into the boats and pushed off from the land. Andrew Pott² leaped over two boats into a third and so escaped. Many boats went down and some men were lost.

In the Norwegian list of the slain, Haco of Steini, the

¹ Alexander Stewart of Paisley had a son Alexander, who, for his good services against the Norwegians at the battle of the Largs, had a grant of the lands of Garlis and Glasserton in Wigtonshire, from Alexander III. These lands are yet possessed by that noble family. Garlis is the title of the eldest son of the Earl of Galloway.—*Peerage of Scotland*, edition 1826, vol. i, p. 311.

² Andrew was one of ten barons, whose duty it was to attend the person of the king. His name is frequently mentioned by Torfæus in his account of Haco's expedition, but by running away, he probably fell into disgrace, as he was not present at the king's death at Kirkwall, which the other barons were.—*Flatyan and Frisian MSS.*, translated by Johnstone.

How widely different is the Norwegian poet's account of the battle from that given by the Norwegian historian :—

1

"The champions of Nordmaera's Lord saluted the stout harnessed barons with the rough music of battle. The train of the supporters of thrones, courageous and clad in steel, marched to the din of clashing swords.

2

"At the conflict of corselets on the blood red hill, the gleaming blade hewed the mail of the hostile tribes, ere the Scot, nimble as the hound, would leave the field to the followers of our all conquering king.

3

"Where cuirasses rung, our generous youth surrounded the illustrious giver of bracelets. The birds of prey were gluttonously filled with lifeless limbs. What great chieftain shall revenge the fate of the renowned wearer of the belt?"—*Saga of Snorri Sturleson*, translated by Johnstone.

king's nephew, several barons of the royal household, and three masters of the lights are mentioned, but no account is given of the total number, neither do our Scottish historians agree on this subject.¹ That the slaughter was great, however, on the part of the Norwegians may reasonably be inferred from the circumstance of their having, under a truce, taken five days to bury their dead.²

Steering homeward, Haco parted with Dugall Konongr and Allan, his brother, at the Calf of Mull, Magnus, king of Man, having returned previously to his kingdom.³

A.D. 1264. Despairing of assistance from Norway, and not being able to resist the power of Alexander single-handed, Magnus met that monarch at Dumfries, when on his way to Man, did homage to him there, and became bound to furnish him with five galleys of twenty oars each, and as many of twelve oars each as often as required.⁴ Alexander granting him a charter by which he held the Island from the crown of Scotland.⁵

¹ "In this battell whilk were faught at Largs, on the third day of October in the year 1263, there were slaine of the Danes and Norwegians 24000, of the Scots 5000."—*Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 403. "The Danes at Largs were utterly routed with the slaughter of twenty-four thousand of their number and not above five thousand Scots."—*Burton's History of Scotland*, Westminster, edition 1813, p. 107. "There were slain at that battle (at Largs) sixteen thousand Norwegians and five thousand Scots."—*Buchanan's History of Scotland*, book vii; *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, 1736, p. 423; *Fordun*, book x, cap. xv.

² *Torfaeus*, p. 4—47. The plains of Largs, on which this battle was fought, was lately denuded, by the hand of agriculture, of those rude obelisks, cairns, stone coffins, urns, and bones, with broken weapons buried there.—*Heron's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 333. "Upone y^e northe syde of y^e towne ther is a pairt, called by y^e vulgar y^e prissin fold, quher ther wer a grate number of Danes enclosed and taken prissiners at y^e battle of y^e Largis."—*Pont's Cunninghamham Topographized*, p. 17, printed from papers in the Advocates' Library, for private circulation, by my friend James Dobie, esquire, of Beith, Ayrshire, a zealous antiquary.

³ *Torfaeus*, p. 4—47; *Transactions of Soc. of Antiquaries*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 386.

⁴ Fordun not unaptly calls them piratical vessels.—*Hailes's Annals of Scotland*, A.D. 1266; *Heron's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 334. According to another account the Scotch invaded the Sudereys with an army. They also went south and obliged King Magnus to take the oaths of allegiance.—*Observations on the Norwegian Expedition against Scotland*, ap. *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 403.

⁵ *Calendars of Ancient Charters with Rolls and Schedules of Fealties done in*

A.D. 1265. Magnus died in his castle of Rushen, and was buried in the abbey church of St. Mary's, which he had finished and caused to be dedicated. He died without issue.¹

He was the ninth and last of the race of Goddard Crovan, who ruled in Man. This family had for nearly two hundred years been honoured with the title of king, though, in effect, they were only lieutenants to the crown of Norway. We should have drawn a veil over many parts of their history had our design been only to adorn a tale, and not to delineate with a faithful pencil the portraiture of men and manners.

the Isle of Man, London, 1772, p. 344; *Fordun*, ap. *Goodal*, vol. ii, book x, cap. xviii, p. 101.

¹ *Chronicles of Man*, ap. *Camden*.

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER V.

NOTE I.—PAGE 109.

CEREMONY OF CROWNING THE KINGS OF THE ISLES.

The kings of the Isles were generally crowned in the small Isle of Finlagan, in Isla. In Martin's time (1688) some relics of their grandeur were extant. A stone of seven feet square was to be seen, in which there was a deep impression made to receive the feet of the king during the ceremony of coronation. Reginald, or Donald, was crowned standing on this stone, and swore he would continue his vassals in possession of their lands, and do exact justice to all his subjects; and then his father's sword was put into his hands. The bishop of the Isles and seven priests anointed him in the presence of all the heads of the clans that were his vassals.—*Martin's Account of the Western Isles*, London, 1716, p. 240. This custom of crowning the king upon a stone seems to be derived from the practice of the Scandinavians:—"Near the city of Upsal there is a large stone of the field which the inhabitants call Morasten, that hath in its circumference twelve lesser than it, fast set in the ground. In this place the senators, or councillors of the kingdom, used to meet to choose and crown the king, who stood on the centre stone."—*Olaus Magnus's Hist. of the North Nations*, London, 1658, pp. 12, 105. The king was afterwards confirmed by the catholic bishop. This was engrafting christianity upon Druidism, for, before the introduction of christianity, the Arch Druid had very probably performed a similar ceremony in the same temple.

NOTE II.—PAGE 110.

GALLOWGLASSES.

Sir James Ware, in his *Antiquities of Ireland*, says, "The Gallo-glasses were armed with an iron head-piece and a coat of defence stuck with iron nails, wearing a long sword by their sides, and bearing in one hand a broad axe with an extreme keen edge, after the manner of those ancient Gauls whom Marcellinus mentions."

“That these foot soldiers, thus armed, were used by the Irish in imitation of what they saw amongst the English, after their first arrival, is pretty manifest from the name Gallo-glass, which signifies no more than an English servitor; *Gall-oglach*, in Irish, importing an English servant.” Dr. Ledwich treats of them as follows:—“The other foot soldiers of the Irish were Gallo-glasses, these seem to have taken their name from two Irish words—*Gal-glac*, the courageous hand.” Spencer thinks the word comes from *Gal-ogla*, the English servitor. He says, “They were dressed in a long shirt of mail armour down to the calf of the leg, with a broad axe in their hand. O’Neil’s Gallo-glasses in 1562 bore battle-axes.”

It was the opinion of Abraham Lionel Jenkins who assisted Harris in his history of the county of Down, that the Gallo-glasses were originally Scots, hired by the Irish chiefs in their domestic wars. Martin, in his account of the Western Isles, informs us that every chief had an armour-bearer who was called Gallo-glach, and finally, that Moryson always distinguished them from their countrymen who invaded and conquered the Route and Glins of Ulster—the latter, he calls Scots, the former, Gallo-glasses.

Shakespeare, in *Macbeth*, brings these soldiers from the Hebrides :

“The merciless Macdonel from the Western Isles,
Of Kernes and Gallo-glasses is supplied.”

NOTE III.—PAGE 113.

SURRENDER OF THE KINGDOM OF THE ISLES TO THE POPE.

“To the most Holy Father and Lord Honorius, by the grace of God, supreme Pontiff, Reginald, king of the Isles, kisseth his feet, and sendeth greeting. Be it known to your holy paternity, that we, as being partakers of the benefits derived from those things that are done in the Roman church according to the admonition and exhortation of the beloved Father in God, Peter, Lord Bishop of Norwich, elect chamberlain, and apostolic legate, have given and offered in the name of the church of Rome, and yours, and of your Catholic successors, our Island of Man, which belongs to us by right of inheritance, and for which we are not bound to do service to any; and henceforward we and our heirs for ever will hold the said Island as a grant from the church of Rome, and will do homage and fealty to it; and as a recognition of dominion, in the name of a tribute we and our heirs for ever will pay annually to the church of Rome, twelve marks stg., in England, at the abbey of Furnes, of the Cistercian order, upon the Feast Purification of the B. V. Mary. And if there should not be any person there on the behalf of you and your successors, the said twelve marks shall be deposited by us and our heirs with the abbot and convent, in the name of the church of Rome. This grant and oblation the said lord legate accepts according to your will and pleasure; and after acceptance so made by him, he, the said lord

legate, gave to me and my heirs the said Island, to be possessed and held in fee for ever, in the name of the church of Rome; and thereupon invested me in the same by a ring of gold, &c. Done at London, in the house of the Knight's Templars, the 22nd September, anno 1219; and that no doubt may remain concerning the premises, we have caused this instrument to be made and sealed with our seals."—*Seacome's Hist. of the House of Stanley*, p. 515.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 129.

CASTLES TAKEN BY THE NORWEGIANS.

The castle of Ayr was built in 1197 by William the Lion, as a barrier against the men of Galloway.—*Hailes's Annals*, vol. i, p. 136. It was the most important station that Haco could have occupied on the frith of Clyde. In 1297, John de Hiddleston was keeper of the castle of Ayr.—*Rymer*, vol. 2, p. 730. After the fight of Falkirk, Bruce caused it to be burnt; but it was re-built by the English. When Bruce landed in Carrick, Sir Ingram Umpherville was keeper of the castle of Ayr. After the English were defeated at Loudon-hill, Ralph de Morthumer, Earl of Gloucester, took refuge here. Bruce blockaded it without success.—*Hailes's Annals*, vol. ii, p. 20. In 1314, Edward Bruce rendezvoused here 7000 men under Fergus de Ardrossan and Sir Philip Mowbray (*Barbour* book v). It was taken in 1336 (*Life of David* ii); and again by Lord Randolph Neville in 1347 (*Abercromby*, vol. ii; *Echord*, book ii, p. 322). Cromwell built the present fort; but left the castle standing on the N.E. corner (*Exploits of the Border*, p. 250). The citadel of Ayr was granted by Charles ii. to the Earl of Eglantine who sold it to the Earl of Cassills for £1000. Broadwic castle, also in the Isle of Arran, is still a large edifice; it was formerly a very strong garrison, and is mentioned by Fordun, the oldest Scots historian (*Scotich*, lib. ii, cap. x), as belonging to the crown; it is of unknown antiquity. There was likewise a strong castle in Lamlash, erected by Somerled (*Macculloch's Western Isles*, London, 1824, vol. ii, p. 28).

That the castle of Ayr, in consequence of Haco's threatened invasion, was, before his arrival in the Clyde, re-inforced and provisioned for a siege, appears from the following account of Walter, Earl of Menteith, then sheriff of Ayr:—

"For three dozen of yew boughs bought at the shop of the Balistarium.

"*Item*. The Earl requires to be placed to his credit the custom of eleven score stones of iron for making 1770 *querellis*, and likewise for the *making* nine score stones of iron.

"*Item*. For salt for the castle, *xxs*.

"*Item*. For ten chalders of oatmeal for the castle, *ix*.

"*Item*. For vi. chalders of corn for the castle, *l. ix. iiis*.

"*Item*. For corn received from the men of Kyle and Carrick, and which they kept on their farms from the term of St. Martin, *xviii. li. xvss*.

"*Item.* For fifty-six cows received for the service of our Lord the King at Brewevill, (Fort Barnweill) ix. li. iiiis.

"*Item.* For building ships for the King's service at Ayre, £60 15 8.

"*Item.* For cutting and making seven score of oar's, vii. merks.

"*Item.* For four men watching the ships of our Lord the King for xxiii weeks, xviss. ix*d.*"

Fordun and Winton, the oldest of our Scottish historians, give a detailed account of Haco landing at Ayr. Buchanan says Haco came to the Ayr and there landed an army of 20,000 men; that he took Arran and Bute, and went to Largs where he was defeated. Hollinshead says, Haco besieged the castle of Ayr, and spoiled the adjacent country. But the Norwegian account states expressly, that Haco sailed direct up the Frith of Clyde from Lamlash to Fairlie Road. This statement is strengthened by the following claim made by the Earl of Menteith, as sheriff of Ayr:

The sheriff requests that there may be placed to his credit "the expence of one hundred and twenty hired soldiers, maintained by him in the castle of Ayr for three weeks, for defence of the same, *upon the burghesses of Ayr refusing to do so*, although required by the king."—*Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. ii, edit. 1831, pp. 387—391.

I am sorry to see so serious an imputation against the loyalty and public spirit of the burghesses of Ayr at that period.

CHAPTER VI.

ENGLISH AND SCOTCH GOVERNMENT, FROM A.D. 1266 TO 1405.

Retrospective glance at Norwegian History—Death of Haco—The Isle of Man ceded by treaty to Scotland—Death of Magnus the last King of Man of the Norwegian Line—Ivar the Usurper slain in Battle—Man governed by a Lieutenant named Goddard—Succeeded by Allan the instigator of a sanguinary Combat at which he is crushed to death—Animosity allayed by the policy of Maurice Okerfair—Brenus, the next Scottish Governor who first taught the Islanders the Art of Fishing, is slain—Succeeded by Donald and Richard de Burgo—Edward's Troops take possession of the Island—Resigned under Seisine to John Baliol—William, Earl of Douglas, called the Hardy, Governor of Man—The Island reverts to the Crown of England—Retaken by Robert the Bruce—Plundered by Richard de Mandeville—Mantholine, the Scotch Governor, writes against Witchcraft—The Earl of Salisbury crowned King of Man—Man plundered by two Scotch Earls—The Island sold by Salisbury to Sir William Scroope—Reverts to the King of England, who grants it first to Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and afterwards to Sir John Stanley.

Haco's unsuccessful descent at Largs was the last attempt at conquest made by the Norwegians, who had disturbed more than any other nation for a period of five hundred years the peace of Europe, who had given kings to England and Sicily, dukes to Normandy, and nobles to every state in christendom. Nations like families and individuals have their periods of prosperity and adversity, and Alexander was too good a politician to allow his victory at Largs to pass away unfelt by the Norwegian monarchy. The king of Man, unable longer to support his independence, submitted to his rule,¹ and the most

¹ Letter of the King of Man acknowledging that he held the land of Man from the king of Scotland in *Calendars of Ancient Charters*, London, 1772, p. 328; *Hailes's Annals of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 177; *Heron's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 334; *Macculloch's Western Isles*, vol. iii, p. 52; *Hollinshead's Chronicles*, vol. i, p. 405.

refractory chiefs of the Æbudæ were forced to do so likewise.

Haco the aged, called Hagenon,¹ died at Kirkwall in Orkney, a few weeks after he left the Clyde, and was succeeded in the sovereignty of Norway by his son Magnus VI, called by his subjects *Lagebetter*.² Unwilling to part with so many islands in the western seas, which had been under the control of the Scandinavian government since the days of Magnus Nudipes, Magnus sent two of the great barons of his kingdom, Askatin chancellor, and Andrew the son of Nicholas baron to the court of Alexander, to treat for their restoration, but finding that proposal rejected, after various negotiations, in which Henry of England undertook to be mediator, a treaty was signed at Perth* in 1266, ceding Man and the Hebrides to the king of Scotland, "with all right to the episcopacy of Man, and the laws, jurisdiction and liberties of the church of Nidrosien, which the king of Norway possessed," in consideration of 4000 marks sterling of the Roman standard, or of the coin of France, England, or Scotland, in four yearly payments of 1000 marks each;³ and also an annual quit-rent of 100 marks sterling for ever, to be delivered to the king of Norway at the church of St. Magnus, in Orkney, yearly, within eight days of the anniversary of St. John the Baptist.⁴

¹ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, 1736, table cxc.

² *Anderson's Royal Genealogies, Kings of Norway*, *ut supra*.

* Appendix, Note i, "Charter."

³ *Observations on the Norwegian Expedition against Scotland*, *ap. Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, vol. ii, part ii, p. 396.

⁴ *Torfeus's History of Norway*, vol. iv, part iv, book vi, cap. iii; *Johnstone's Cello Scandicæ*, 1786; *Hailes's Annals*, vol. i, p. 178; *Forðun*, 10, 19; *Heron's Hist. of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 334. In the *Calendars of Ancient Charters, Scottish Rolls, and Schedules of Fealties done in the Isle of Man*, kept in the Tower of London, appears "A mandate of the king of Norway regarding the restoration of peace—the final conclusion of war between the king of Norway and Scotland—and the Authority of the king of Norway to receive from the king of Scotland 1100 marks for the first year's payment."—*Calendar of Ancient Charters*, London, 1772, pp. 329, 344.

Both parties became bound to fulfil their respective obligations under a penalty of 10,000 marks, to be exacted by the Pope; and in a note to the treaty it was agreed that the conquered should not be made slaves as formerly.

This treaty was afterwards ratified by Robert I. of Scotland, and Haco V. of Norway, in 1312, and again in 1426 by James I. of Scotland, and Eric the VIII. of Pomerania, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.¹

At the death of Magnus, the last of the Norwegian kings of Man, in 1265, the Western Isles had not submitted to Alexander, which left the Manks some room to hope that the young king of Norway would yet prevent their kingdom becoming an integral part of the kingdom of Scotland. Cherishing this hope the widow of the king, a woman of haughty and intriguing spirit, made every exertion in her power to place Ivar the person who murdered his brother-in-law Reginald, on the vacant throne of Man.²

Ivar, then in the prime of life, and, as it is said, "possessed of virtues enough to save a nation, and vices enough to ruin it," readily embraced the offer of his friend, and was supported by the voice of the people.

These proceedings having taken place without the consent of the Scottish king, Alexander sent an army under the command of Alexander Steuart of Paisley,³ and John Cumin⁴ to reduce the Island to a state of obedience.—These troops disembarked at Derbyhaven on the 7th of

¹ *Hist. of the Orcades*, edition 1697; *Gibson's Camden's Britt.* vol. ii, p. 1443. To the duplicate of the original treaty which was to remain in the possession of the king of Norway was appended the seal of the king of Scots, as well as to the duplicates of these confirmations which were likewise to remain with king Haquin.—*Robertson's Index of Ancient Charters*, p. 101.

² *Seacome's History*, p. 533.

³ This person in *Debrett's Peerage of the United Kingdom*, is erroneously called Walter (v. ii, p. 545).

⁴ *Hollinshead*, vol. i, p. 404; *Fordun*, vol. iii, pp. 468, 471; *Hector Boetius*, book xiii, folio 287; *Rymer's Fadera*, vol. xi, p. 205.

October, 1270, and next morning before sunrise a battle was fought, in which 537¹ of the islanders fell.² Among these was Ivar who fought bravely for the expiring liberty of his country.

The first lieutenant placed by the king of Scotland in Man was Goddard, son of Manus,³ who, being a person of just and amiable disposition, was highly esteemed in the Island; but who, it is said, "refusing to have any concern in the murder of the three brothers descended from one of the former kings of Man," was removed from the office after having held the government of the Island four years.

1274. Goddard Mc Manus was succeeded by Allan, the son of a Scottish earl,⁴ whose name I have not ascertained. Cruel and imperious, he studied more the pleasure of his royal master than the happiness of the people he was sent to govern. The Manks followed their hereditary kings with cheerful and active obedience, but under Allan their only study seemed how they might legally disobey. This increased his severity to such an extent that they at length grew desperate and rose universally against the Scottish authority with the resolution of either overturning it entirely, or falling in the attempt. By the interposition, however, of bishop Mark, a Scotchman, who was appointed to the see by Alexander, they agreed to limit the dispute to a combat of thirty on each side.⁵ The Manksmen lost the day, all their combatants having fallen, while the Scots lost twenty-five. Allan, called the Thane, who had been the occasion of this

¹ On this event, so fatal to Manks independence, some poetaster composed the following distich:—

"Ten L's, thrice X, with V and II did fall,
Ye Manks take care, or suffer more ye shall."

Chronicles of Man, ap. Camden.

² *Johnstone's Celta Normannica*, p. 152.

³ *Hollinshead*, vol. i, p. 404.

⁴ *Southwell, ap. Hollinshead's Chron. of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 404.

⁵ *Saecheverell, ap. Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 10.

quarrel, was pressed to death by the multitude as he stood a spectator of the combat. This was the last struggle of the Manks against the power of Alexander, who sent to succeed Allan in his government of Man, 1279, Maurice, the grandson of Castelan, by some writers called *Okerfair*.¹ He was a wise and worthy magistrate, in whom the exactness of the soldier gave an air of rigour to the laws, and the fineness of the gentleman softened their rigour in execution. By an excellent mixture of moderation and severity he made it his business to allay the animosities of the two factions, and so far succeeded that he caused thirty *cross marriages* to be celebrated in one day. He died in 1282, equally lamented by the Manks and the Scots.

1282. He was succeeded by Brenus,² who pursued the gentle and moderate principles of his predecessor. He taught the people the art of fishing; but in the fifth year of his government he was unhappily slain in a rencounter with a party of Highlanders in Lorn.

1287. He was succeeded by Donald, a person of high reputation, but how long he held the government is uncertain.

1290. King Edward I. took the kingdom of Man under his protection at the special request of its inhabitants.³

1292. Richard de Burgo was governor of the Island when it was delivered up to the troops of Edward I.

On that occasion, Edward appointed William Huntercombe guardian or warden of the Isle; and in the same year, of his special favour, ordered seisine of it to be given to Baliol, to be held in the same manner as it had been by Alexander III, "reserving his own right and the

¹ *Seacome*, p. 538; *Southwell*, ap. *Hollinshead's Chron. of Scot.*, vol. i, p. 404.

² *Southwell*, ap. *Hollinshead's Chron. of Scot.*, vol. i, p. 404.

³ *Rymer*, vol. ii, p. 492.

rights of all others.¹ The name of the person appointed by Baliol to the government of Man is not recorded so far as I can find; but the following passage seems to throw some light on this dark period of Manks history :

“ William VII, Earl of Douglas, called the *Hardie*, or *Longlegge*, died in 1307. It is said that he had the Isle of Man, but whether as heritable possessor, or governor only, is not known. It is well known, however, that this Island belonged to the crown of Scotland, and that the Douglasses had more than ordinary interest there; Douglas Castle, and Douglas Haven, which carry their names to this day, do leave sufficient witness.”²

William VIII, Earl of Douglas, was governor of the Castle of Berwick in 1295; but eight years afterwards, having fallen into the hands of the English, he died in prison.³

Alexander III, king of Scotland, had by his queen, Margaret, a family of three children, Alexander, David, and Margaret. David died an infant, and Margaret was married to Eric, king of Norway, in 1281. It was agreed in the marriage contract that if prince Alexander died without heirs, and the king, his father, left no issue male, Margaret, queen of Norway, should succeed to the crown of Scotland, and her children enjoy the same right, in case she died before the king, her father. Shortly afterwards, Alexander having lost his only surviving son, and the queen of Norway having also died, after bringing into the world a daughter called Margaret, he resolved to perform the agreement above mentioned; for which pur-

¹ *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. ii, p. 602, *ap. Hailes's Annals*, vol. i, pp. 224, 225. About this time many revenue accounts, public writings, and records were delivered, by the direction of Edward, to Alexander Baliol, chamberlain of Scotland, for the use of the Scottish king, among which were “Rolls and Schedules of Fealties done in the Isle of Man.”—*Calendar of Ancient Charters*, pp. 109, 332; *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 102. See also *Coke's Institutes*, cap. lxi, p. 284.

² *Hume of God'scroft's History of the Douglasses*, Edinburgh, 1763, p. 20.

³ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 419; *Scot. Peerage*, Edinburgh, 1826, vol. i, p. 121.

pose he obliged the Scotch barons to swear that, in case he died without male issue, they would acknowledge the young princess of Norway for their queen.¹ King Alexander having been killed by a fall from his horse in 1285, and the young princess of Norway having died about the same time, the title to the crown of Scotland was warmly contested by six competitors, all descended from David, Earl of Huntingdon, younger brother of David, king of Scots, and great uncle to the late monarch; but the king of England² took upon himself the decision of this title, as he pretended a right of superiority over the Scottish kingdom from his ancestors,³ and also claimed the sovereignty of the Isle of Man.⁴

On seisine being made of the Isle of Man to John Baliol, Alfrica, daughter of Olave the Black, and sister of Magnus, the last Island king of the Norwegian line, preferred her claim to the sovereignty of Man, and offered to do homage to the king of Scotland for that holding; but not being able to obtain any redress from Baliol, she next applied to Edward, as lord superior.⁵ On this application, king Edward commanded both the king of Scots, and the claimant Alfrica to appear in the King's Bench, to have the claim in issue decided there. This singular writ, which is yet extant,⁶ is directed to the sheriff of Northumberland, who is commanded to deliver the same to the king of Scotland in the presence of witnesses, and thereafter to make a proper return.⁷

The progress of this suit does not appear; but that the right of Alfrica was confirmed, may be inferred from her

¹ *Daniel's Collection of the History of England*, p. 190, *ap. Rolt on the Sale of the Isle of Man*, London, 1773, pp. 25, 26.

² *Hollinshead's Description of Scotland*, edition 1577, p. 295, *ap. Rolt ut supra*.

³ *Daniel's Collection of the His. of England*, p. 204, 225, 245, *ap. Rolt ut supra*.

⁴ *Rolt ut supra*.

⁵ *Campbell's Political Survey*, vol. ii, p. 5.

⁶ *De summitione regis Scotiæ ex parte austriacæ consanguineæ et heredis Magni quondam regis Manniæ pro terra de Man.*—*Calendar of Ancient Charters*, memb. 5.

⁷ *Rot. Scot.* 21 Edward I, m. 4.

having by a deed of gift, dated on the annunciation of the Virgin Mary, A.D. 1305, conveyed her right and interest in the Isle of Man, to her husband, Sir Simon de Montacute,¹ whose son, Sir William, mortgaged the revenues of the Island for seven years to Anthony Beek, bishop of Durham, the patriarch of Jerusalem, to whom the king afterwards made a grant of it for life.²

1307. On the death of this crafty and covetous prelate, Edward II. in one year made no less than three separate grants of the Island, to as many favourites: the first was to Piers de Graveston, the second to Gilbert de Mac Gascall, and the third to Henry de Beaumont, with all the demesnes and royal jurisdiction thereto belonging.³ These frequent changes threw the Island into great confusion; but it afforded the Scots another opportunity of wresting that unfortunate state from the grasp of its rival.

1310. The Scots, impatient of any rest from hostilities until their country should be wholly free from the English yoke, projected a winter invasion of the Isle of Man; but as it would seem, were diverted from the prosecution of that enterprise. Many of the inhabitants of the Isle were already sufficiently hostile to Edward and to Bruce. It

¹ *Dodeworth's Collections*, vol. xxx, p. 114.

² Willis in his *History of Cathedrals*, vol. i, p. 370, censures an author for saying that this Island was mortgaged to Anthony Beek, yet bishop Godwin says, "this turbulent prelate obtained from the king, either by prayers or price, the principality of the Isle of Man, and held it for life."—*Richardson's Edition of Præsulibus*, p. 743. Had Willis examined the *Rot. Scot.*, 31, Edward I, he would have seen there a "Scire Facias to Anthony Beek, bishop of Durham, to shew cause why he should not render the Isle of Man." Anthony Beek was a prelate whose state was only exceeded by his sovereign. His ordinary personal suite consisted of 140 knights.—*Hutchinson's History of the County Palatine of Durham*, p. 239.

³ *Camden's Britannica*, p. 1060. Gilbert M'Askel is again mentioned as governor of Man in 1310 (*Fœdera*, cap. iii, p. 238); and he is further stated to have previously held that office as steward (senescallus) for the bishop of Durham. He appears to have been a commissary for the English army. In the last year of the reign of Edward I, he presented an account of £1215 3 4, expended by him in defending the Isle of Man against the Scots, and likewise an account of £380 17 6, for victuals delivered to the governor of the castle of Carlisle, while defending it against the Scots; both sums were allowed and ordered to be paid.—*Seacome*, p. 541.

was by their intervention, and in their vessels that provisions and military stores were conveyed to the Scots in Galloway, from the western coasts of England.¹

In 1313 the Scots made a feint of invading Cumberland to conceal, as it would appear, the design of king Robert Bruce against the Isle of Man. It was from the Hebridean Isles chiefly that he procured the vessels, with which he invaded the Island.²

On the 18th of May he landed at Ramsey, and on the Sunday following went to the monastery of Douglas, where he remained all night. Next morning he laid siege to the Castle of Rushen, which was commanded by Dungal Macdoual.³

But by this individual⁴ it was nobly defended from that time "till the Tuesday after the festival of St. Barnabas," a period of six months.⁵ Macdoual and a number of his followers being then slain in a rencounter, the castle surrendered to king Robert,⁶ who ordered it to be demolished along with all the other fortresses of the

¹ *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. iii, pp. 223—238; *Hailes's Annals*, vol. ii, p. 172; *Heron's History of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 133.

² *Rymer's Fœdera*, vol. iii, pp. 230—238; *Anderson's Diplomata*, pp. 24, 25. In a charter granted by Bruce, a principal condition on the part of the person in whose favour the deed was executed, was the furnishing a ship with forty oars yearly, for forty days, for the royal service.—*Heron's History of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 305.

³ *Johnstone's Celto Normanica*, p. 151.

⁴ This is probably the same individual, who, at the head of a number of Bruce's Gallovidian enemies, had made his escape to the Isle of Man, (*Documents regarding the Arrest of certain Malefactors in the Isle of Man; Calendars of Ancient Charters in the Tower of London*, p. 121,) and who is called by Chalmers "the most illustrious Celtic chief in Galloway."—*Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 372. In *Dugdale's Monasticon*, vol. ii, p. 1051, we find Roland Macdowal in 1190 styled Princeps Gallovidæ. In the *Chronicles of Man* subjoined to *Camden's Britannica*, p. 1057, this person is called Dingdwy Dowil. In the *Annals of Ulster*, 1313, he is called the Lord Donegal O'Dowill. If he is a Gallovidian, I imagine him to have been that Dungal Macdoual, who defeated and made prisoners the two brothers of the king of the Scots, near Lochryan, on the 9th February, 1307.—*Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 373; *Hailes's Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 39.

⁵ *Major's History of Scotland*, book v, cap. i; *Carruther's ditto*, 1826, vol. ii.

⁶ *Heron's History of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 144.

Island,¹ that they might not again become receptacles for the enemy.²

1313. The Island having thus again fallen under the dominion of the Scottish monarch, Randolph, earl of Murray, received a grant of it from his uncle, king Robert Bruce, with the title of Lord of Man.³ Happily an imperfect idea can only be formed in modern times of the wretched condition to which nations were often reduced by famine in the middle ages. England was afflicted with such a grievous famine in the year 1315, that, in some instances, bread could, with great difficulty, be obtained for the king's table.⁴ The Manks were not in a much better state, and the distress of the Island was greatly increased by the rapacity of a band of lawless adventurers, by whom they were assailed.⁵ In May 1316, Richard de Mandeville and his brothers, John and Thomas, with others of the Irish nobility, at the head of a

¹ According to *Fordun*, Bruce, within the years 1307 and 1313, had taken and cast down 137 castles and fortalices.—*Ap. Goodal*, vol. ii, p. 240. So that few strengths now remain that can, on satisfactory grounds, be pronounced older than the reign of this monarch.—*Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 381.

² *Buchanan's History of Scotland*, book viii; *Hollinshead's Chronicles*, vol. i, p. 436; *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. ii, p. 564. Dr. Campbell says, "The example set by Robert Bruce, in destroying the fortresses of the Isle of Man after he had recovered it out of the hands of Edward I, had a very bad effect, for, being followed by his successors, it left the Islands naked and defenceless, which discouraged industry and made way for general indigence."—Vol. ii, p. 564. By the *Calendar of Ancient Charters in the Tower*, it appears there was a large fleet sent from Scotland to the Isle of Man, and there is a document "For the King regarding the fleet of Robert Bruce having moved from the Isle of Man."—London, 1772, pp. 121, 122.

³ Adam de Corrie witnessed a charter of Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray, lord of Annandale and of the Isle of Man, to his nephew, William de Murray, of the lands of Cumlagen and Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire.—*Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 67. There is a place near the town of Dumfries, called "The Isle of Man Moss," which probably owes its name to the lord of Annandale being likewise lord of Man. It is distinctly stated in the ancient MS., preserved in Castle Rushen, that Edward Bruce, the king of the Scots' brother, conquered the Island, A.D. 1308, but the event is not recorded by any of the historians, whose works I have consulted.—*Robertson's Index of Ancient Charters*, p. 9.

⁴ *Hume's History of England*, cap. xiv.

⁵ *Malte Brun*, cap. clii.

body of freebooters, landed at Ronaldswath demanding provisions, cattle, and money from the inhabitants, who were assembled at a distance to oppose their progress into the country. Their request being rejected, the Irish struck up their war-song of *Crom-a-boo*¹ and began to prepare for battle. They formed into two divisions and advanced towards the Manks till they came to the declivity of Barrule,² where they united, and the engagement commenced. At the onset about forty of the Manksmen fell, the rest fled and were nearly all cut down by their pursuers. The Irish afterwards plundered the country of every thing valuable, and, at their leisure, dug up much silver, which had been buried under ground, in various places. They stripped the abbey of Rushen of all its furniture, flocks, and cattle. Having spent a month in thus plundering the Island, they stowed their ships with the best effects of the country and steered homeward;³ but they were interrupted on their landing in Ireland by Edward Bruce, brother of the king of Scotland: the two younger Mandevilles were slain at Down.⁴ This descent caused the Scots to fit out a fleet for the defence of the Island.⁵

Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray, as is well known,

¹ The words *Crom-a-boo* were abolished in Ireland as the name Macgregor was in Scotland. An act was passed in the tenth year of the reign of Henry VII, cap. 20, abolishing the words *Crom-a-boo*, *Butter-a-boo*, *Shanel-a-boo*, *Gabria-a-boo*. It was enacted, "That no person of whatever condition or degree do take part with any lord or gentleman by using these words for the upholding of strife, contrary to the king's laws, under pain of being committed to ward, there to remain without bail or main prize, till they have made fine, after the discretion of the king's deputy in Ireland."—*Debrett's Peerage of the United Kingdom*, vol. i, p. 9.

² This mountain was then called "War-fell."

³ *Johnstone's Cello Normannicæ; Chronicles of Man; Sacheverell*, p. 72.

⁴ *Ware's Annals of Ireland*, Dublin, 1705, p. 58.

⁵ *Calendars of Ancient Charters*, p. 132. In the ratification of the treaty concluded at Edinburgh on 17th March, 1327, between king Robert I. and Edward III, it was agreed that "if war should be levied in Ireland against the king of England, or in the *Isle of Man* against the king of Scotland, neither of these kings should assist the enemies of the other."—*Robertson's Index*, p. 102.

rose to be regent of Scotland, died in 1331, and was succeeded in all his honours by his son. The title of Lord of Man continued hereditary in the family, and long after the Island had passed into other hands, they continued the arms of Man in their escutcheons. The first duke of Albany was created in 1398, and yet we find he carried on his shield the arms of the Isle of Man.¹ This circumstance has erroneously led some authors to suppose that the duke of Albany was governor of the Isle of Man, which only tends to show how little they were acquainted with the history of Scotland.²

1329. When Murray was regent of Scotland, he sent over Martholine, the king's almoner, to take care of religion in the Isle of Man and to reform the manners of the people, who had sunk into a state of great ignorance. Martholine wrote against witchcraft, a practice very frequent there in those days, and he also minted a certain copper coin with the king's effigy on one side and a cross on the other.³

1333. On the 20th May, Edward ordered possession to be taken of the Isle of Man;⁴ but in the year following, Edward Baliol presented himself to his liege lord, did homage, and swore fealty for the whole kingdom of Scotland and Isles adjacent.⁵

1335. By a treaty of alliance between Edward Baliol and John, lord of the Isles, it was specially provided that the lord of the Isles should have a right to stand godfather to any of Baliol's heirs.⁶

1340. John de Ergadia, a potent person, having been driven from Man in 1313, when the Island submitted to

¹ *Chronicles of Man*, ap. Camden; *Grose's Antiquities of Scotland*, London edition, 1797, vol. i, p. 88; *Sir Walter Scott's Prose Works*, vol. vii, p. 410.

² *Sacheverell*, p. 72; *Seacome*, p. 542.

³ *Sacheverell*, p. 72; *Hollinshead*, vol. i, p. 405.

⁴ *Rymers's Fœdera*, vol. iii, 558, ap. *Hailes's Annals*, vol. ii, pp. 162, 163.

⁵ *Scala's Chronicles*, ap. *Leland*, vol. i, p. 554.

⁶ *Hailes's Annals*, vol. ii, p. 72.

the Scots, and succeeding afterwards in raising forces in Ireland, returned to the Island and drove out the Scots.* For this brave action, king Edward III. granted him, in 1340, a competent maintenance for himself, his family, and soldiers.¹

1341. It appears that the inhabitants were furnished with documents relative to certain treaties with the Scots.²

1343. The Manks had purchased from the Scots a truce for twelve months, which it appears they were about to pay this year in wheat. The vessel in her passage was intercepted by some Irishmen; but Edward issued a writ to the Lord Justice of Ireland for her restoration.³

The reader may perhaps remember that Reginald, who was assassinated in a meadow near Rushen, in A.D. 1249, left a daughter, Mary,⁴ who, on the death of Magnus, her uncle, was secretly conveyed to England, "with all the public deeds and charters of the Island," lest, by the intrigues of her faithless aunt, and her paramour Ivar, her life might be endangered.⁵ In England she was married to John de Waldeboef, and had a daughter likewise named Mary, to whom she left all her Manks documents and other claims to the Island.

Notwithstanding the Scots being then in possession of the Island, this lady presented to Edward III. the documents establishing her right to the sovereignty of Man. That generous prince not only favoured her claim, but prevailed on William Montacute, earl of Salisbury,

* Appendix, Note ii, "Family of John de Ergadia."

¹ *Sacheverell*.

² *Calendar of Ancient Charters*, p. 192.

³ *Prynne's Animadversions on the 4th Institute*, cap. lxix, p. 385.

⁴ In an ancient MS. preserved in the castle of Rushen, she is designated "Queen of Man and Countess of Strathern." She might have been styled "Queen of Man," in right of her father; but I have not been able to ascertain accurately the grounds on which the conjoined title of Countess of Strathern was conferred.

⁵ *Seacome*, pp. 21, 25.

son of Sir William Montacute who mortgaged the Island to Anthony Beek, to take her in marriage.¹ Each being in the third degree of descent from Olave the black,² their separate claims were thus united; and Edward wishing to wrest the Island from the Scots, furnished the earl with ships and soldiers to accomplish that object.

According to Speed, the historian, the earl of Salisbury was magnanimous, generous, and brave. With the troops placed at his disposal, he succeeded in conquering the Island from the Randolph family; and in the year 1344 he was with great pomp crowned king of Man and the Isles.³

1357. Peace was concluded between England and Scotland, in which truce the Isle of Man was specially included.⁴

1364. When the Scottish parliament, which met at Perth on the 13th January, deliberated as to the means of a solid peace with England, it was proposed to give the son of Edward III. lands in Galloway, which had been the property of the late Edward Baliol, and also, the Isle of Man, which was valued at 1000 marks;⁵ but this proposal was never carried into effect. What authority the Scots had to bestow the Isle of Man on the king of England's son, at the time it was possessed by an English subject in virtue of a grant from the English king, is not explained; nor have I been able to discover the grounds on which they acted. Conjecture, unsupported by historical evidence, makes but slow progress in convincing the understanding; and the most plausible species of logical

¹ *Gibson's Camden*, p. 1059.

² *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 535, p. 795; *Antiq. Sarisburiensis*, 8vo., Easton, 1771.

³ *Daniel Stow*, ap. *Gibson's Camden*; *Antiq. Sarisburiensis*; *Macpherson*, pp. 304, 305.

⁴ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. ii, p. 66; *Robertson's Index*, p. 107.

⁵ *Robertson's Par.*, Rec. 101, ap. *Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 267; *Robertson's Index of Ancient Charters*, p. 109.

dexterity proves only a poor substitute for historical accuracy. It was stipulated that if the earl of Salisbury should claim the Isle of Man as his property, an annuity of 1000 marks sterling should be paid to the prince until lands to the same value should be settled on him, provided always that he was willing to hold the same as a *sworn vassal of the king of Scotland*. This offer was an equivalent for the part of the ransom of David II, which remained unpaid.¹

In 1372, George de Dunbar, earl of March, was Dominus Vallis Manniæ.²

1388. No sooner had the truce between England and Scotland expired than war broke out again with increased fury. The earls of Fife and Douglas overran Northumberland and Westmoreland. They afterwards proceeded to Ireland, plundered the town of Carlingford, and loaded fifteen ships, which they found in the harbour, with their booty. From thence they set sail for the Isle of Man, then belonging to the Montacute family, the professed enemies of the Scots, which they plundered also, and returned with their spoil to Scotland.³

1389. In the truce, concluded between France and England, at Lelingham church, in France, on 19th June, 1389, to continue till 16th August, 1392, the allies of both crowns had the liberty of being included. The allies of France, who accepted this offer, were among others, the king of Scotland and the earl of March for the Isle of Man. On the part of England, the kings of Portugal and Arragon, with the earl of Salisbury for the Isle of Man, likewise. From this it may reasonably be inferred that the two earls were at war respecting the Isle of Man—not as subjects of their respective sovereigns, but

¹ *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. ii, pp. 152, 153.

² *Robertson's Index of Ancient Charters*, p. 136.

³ *Hollinshead's Chron.* vol. ii, p. 37; *Guthrie's Hist. of Scot.*, vol. iii, p. 145; *Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. iii, p. 49, Edinburgh, edit. 1828.

as independent princes.¹ King Robert Bruce, when on his death bed, recommended that the Æbudæ, of which the Isle of Man formed a part, should always be placed in the hands of various persons who should not be permitted to continue long in office; and it is probably by the acting upon this plan that so little is now known of the government of the Island from the time of his death till it fell finally into the hands of the English.

1393. In the year after the expiry of the truce of Lelingham, the earl of Salisbury sold the Island and his crown to Sir William le Scroop, the king's chamberlain. The deed of sale runs thus:—"Sir William le Scroop bought of William Montacute, earl of Salisbury, the Isle of Man, with the title of king and the right of being crowned with a golden crown."²

1399. Sir William le Scroop, afterwards earl of Wiltshire, having been attainted and beheaded for treason, the Isle of Man was granted by king Henry IV. to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, by the following record: "We, of our special grace, have given and granted to Henry, earl of Northumberland, the Isle, Castle Peel, and lordship of Man, with all such Island and seignories thereunto belonging, as were the property of Sir William Scroop, knight, deceased, whom, in his life, we conquered, and do declare to be conquered, which the said earl, his heirs, and successors are to hold by service of carrying on every coronation day of us and our heirs, either by himself in person or by some sufficient and honourable deputy, that sword, naked, which we wore when we arrived at Holderness, called the Lancaster sword."³

Four years after the earl of Northumberland had obtained this grant, he was attainted and banished; and,

¹ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. iii, p. 151.

² *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 535, p. 798.

³ *Continuation of the Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. *Camden's Britannica*, vol. ii; *Charter of the Island*, cap. xix; Appendix, Note i.

although the attainder was afterwards taken off, the earl was deprived of the Isle of Man by act of parliament, and it was ordered to be seized for the king's use; but, in the seventh year of his reign, Henry IV. made a grant of it to Sir John de Stanley, for life. In the succeeding year, Sir John delivered up the grant to be cancelled, and the king, in consideration of the surrender, regranted the Island to him, his heirs, and successors, in as full and ample a manner as it had been granted to any former king or lord, to be held of the crown of England.¹

¹ *Rymer's Fœdera*, viii, 353; *Hume's History of England*, cap. xviii; *Johnstone's Jurisprudence of the Isle of Man*, Edinburgh, 1812, pp. 13, 14. The old Manks historian previously referred to in this work, thus speaks of the bravery of Sir John Stanley: "He was so strong that with his sword he could pierce the crest of the fiercest antagonist armed and harnessed for the fray; and could bring with a blow of his spear both the horse and rider to the ground; * * * * he never left a field of battle without having smitten off the head of some distinguished foe."—*Manks Metrical History*, verses 44, 45.

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER VI.

NOTE I.—PAGE 139.

CHARTER.

Transaction of the Kingdom of Mann and its Islands between their most serene Majesties, Alexander III, King of Scotland, and Magnus IV, King of Norway.

That the certainty of presentiments may give true and certain recollections of by-gone events, it is universally to be known that in the year of grace, 1266, on the day of Venus, next after the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul, in the assembly of the aforesaid brothers, at Perth, this composition and final agreement was entered into with regard to the contentions, complaints, damages, injuries, and discords of the Isles of Man and Sodorensium, and set at rest by that jury, by divine assistance, between the magnificent and illustrious chieftains, lord Magnus IV, under favour of God, illustrious king of Norway, through means of Askatinus, chancellor, and Andrew, son of Nicholas, baron, two of his principal lords, specially and lawfully sent thither and appearing there on one side; and Alexander III, under the same favour, king of Scotland, with a great number of his nobility, personally appearing there on the other side, under this form, viz :—That the said lord Magnus, king of Norway, as the friend of peace and observer of justice to the revering of God, and cherishing more diligently the observance of the mutual agreement and peace, warding off the dangers of life, and shunning the slaughter of men, at the instance of the said Alexander III, king of Scotland, as well as for the Island of Man, with Sodorenses and all the other Isles to the southern and western parts of the Great Haffrius, with every right that himself and forefathers possessed in them for the time past, or himself and his heirs may possess in the time to come, through means of the aforesaid Askatinus, chancellor, and Andrew, son of Nicholas, baron, two of the lords of Magnus, king of Norway, having from the king full power of placing and granting over them, hath amicably and socially yielded and resigned them for himself and heirs, to be henceforth held and possessed by the said Alexander III, king of Scotland, and by his heirs, with all the rights and privileges belonging to the said Islands, without any restraint, alongat with the episcopacy of Man, the laws, jurisdictions, and liberty of the church of Nidrosien, in everything that he possessed in the episcopacy and church of Man; and with the exception of the Isles of Orkney and Shetland, which the king of Norway, with his lords, &c., hath specially reserved to himself; that, likewise, all the inhabitants of the said Islands which are granted and resigned to the said king of Scotland, may be subjected to the laws and customs of the kingdom of Scotland, and that they may be governed and judged from this time henceforth.

On account of these and future deeds which might henceforth be done whilst they adhered to the said king of Norway, that no person should aspire to his inheritance in these Islands, but peacefully remain in the same, under the dominion of the king of Scotland, as well as the other subjects and lieges of the said king of Scotland, who

should be distinguished by their rejoicing in justice; but if they acted to the contrary they ought to be justly punished according to the laws and customs of the kingdom of Scotland; and if in the said Islands and under the dominions of the king of Scotland they wished to take up their abode, they should dwell in peace; and if they wished to depart, they should depart free and in peace; likewise, they should neither be compelled to stay nor to depart against the laws and customs of the kingdom of Scotland and their own will. Also, the aforesaid Alexander, the king of Scotland, an observer of truth and of peace, and his heirs, by yielding and resigning them especially for the sake of peace, and that it might lessen the labours, give and restore henceforth (to the before mentioned king of Norway and his heirs, and assigned to them in future, within eight days of the anniversary of the holy St. John the Baptist, in the Orcaes, belonging to the King of Norway, in the church of the Saint Magnus, in the hands of Orchardia or Ballivus, specially deputed by the king of Norway, or they should place it in the same church at the service of the king of Norway, under custody of the Canons at that church, if Orchardia or Ballivus should not find them there) 100 merks of good and lawful sterling money of Roman coin and of the coin of France, England, and Scotland, told out yearly: and likewise 4000 merks ster., within the next four years, paid him down beforehand in that place and limit, that is to say, 1000 merks within eight days of the anniversary of St. John the Baptist, in the year of grace 1267, and 100 merks of the aforesaid payment, and in each of the following years, 1268, 1269, 1270, 1000 merks and 100 merks of the before mentioned payment, and ever after that only 100 merks yearly.

And to all these and divers affairs, that are before mentioned, faithfully and firmly to be observed, that the said Aakatinus, chancellor, and Andrew, baron, in place of Magnus, illustrious king of Norway, and his heirs and assignees, made oath publicly in the church of the aforesaid brothers, at Perth, by the inspiration of the Holy Evangelists. And the said Lord Alexander, king of Scotland, per two of his nobility, Adam of Carrick, and Robert of Meyners, solemnly made oath in the presence of these messengers.

And for the greater security of that affair, both sides obliged themselves to pay 10,000 merks stg., plainly and voluntarily, which composition and final agreement was to be henceforth observed in full force. Moreover, Magnus, king of Norway, per his above-mentioned messengers, for himself, his heirs and successors, and Alexander, king of Scotland, for himself and heirs, bind themselves thus to the jurisdiction of the sanctuary of the Apostles, that by the single aforesaid advice, through the sentences of excommunication against individuals, no person excepted and interdicted in the kingdom, without a juridical trial, should compel the party to adhere to the before-mentioned composition and final agreement to the full payment of the 10,000 merks sterling.

Therefore, both parties renounced in the deed every exception of fraud and deceit, and all letters between these said kings and their predecessors, hitherto sheltered under these pretexts, whatever orders might exist, and all deeds and indulgences of the Apostles, gained by entreaty, and every remedy of the canonic and civil jury, through which the before mentioned concession, resignation, and final agreement may be impeded, deferred, or overthrown, or in any other manner debilitated. Likewise it is added to this agreement, by common consent between the kings and kingdoms of Norway and Scotland, that all transgressions between them and their predecessors, &c., henceforth perpetrated, may be wholly forgiven on both sides, with regard to assemblies, kingdoms, &c., and that the hostages of the said islands henceforth taken and detained, should be restored to full liberty. And if an enemy of one of these kings of Norway and Scotland should fly into the dominions of the other, he should

not receive him unless by chance, for the time, until he should obtain (if he deserved it) a pardon for him; and if he could not obtain from his own lord a pardon for his offence, he should not within the next twelve months fail to send him off from his dominions. Those, however, being excepted who had committed the crime of high treason, whom they should by no means receive. Moreover, if any of the subjects of the king of Norway, who had been absent and should suffer shipwreck on the coasts of the kingdom or dominions of the king of Scotland, or from their vessels being overturned, they should be allowed freely and quietly to collect, possess, and sell their vessels alongst with any one of the rest of their articles for themselves or others, until they should give them up for lost; and if any one, contrary to this compact concerning affairs or vessels thus exposed, should steal anything fraudulently or violently, he should thereupon be convicted as a robber and violator of the peace if he should deserve it, and punished according to custom, whatever being to the contrary having no effect. But if any one was found and convicted as the disturber of that peace and final agreement between the kings and kingdoms aforesaid, and their inhabitants, held and confirmed by that king in whose dominions the depredator was found, that he shall be severely punished, as an example to all others in time to come, to beware of a similar offence.

And in testimony of this affair, that part of this writing shall be executed in MS., bearing the name of the said king of Norway, the seal of the said king of Scotland, alongst with the seals of the venerable brothers, Gamelinus of St. Andrew's, and John, Dei gratia, of the episcopacy of Glasgow, and of the noble Alexander Cymyn of Buchan, Patrick of Dunbar, William of Man, Adam governor of Carrick, and Robert of Meyners; and that another part of this writing may likewise be executed in MS. bearing the signature of the said king of Scotland, the seal of his Excellency the said king of Norway, alongst with the venerable brothers Peter of Bergen, Thorgilson, Dei gratia, of the episcopacy of Staragren, and of the nobles Gaietus of Mele, Buccolinus the son of John, Finnius the son of Gaietus, Andrew son of Nicholas, and Askatinus, chancellor, a noble of the said king of Norway.—*Calendars of Ancient Charters.*

This treaty is one of the few Scottish documents saved from the destruction brought upon them by Edward I. and Cromwell, being inserted in a book of Records, still kept in the Register Office.

NOTE II.—PAGE 150.

FAMILY OF JOHN DE ERGADIA.

John de Ergadia was a son of Alaster de Ergadia, lord of Lorn, who had married a daughter of John, called the Red Comyn, slain by Bruce in the Dominican church in Dumfries, and from that circumstance, had become the mortal enemy of that prince. The whole district of Knapdale had been forfeited, and given by Robert Bruce to John de Menteith, who drove out the family of Ergadia from their possessions there. From an ancient manuscript genealogy of the Campbells, it appears that so early as 1284, Alexander de Ergadia was Thane of Glassrie and Knapdale, and owner of the great castle of Swern in Knapdale.—*Skene's Highlanders of Scotland*, part ii, cap. iv.

CHAPTER VII.

KINGS AND LORDS OF MAN OF THE HOUSE OF STANLEY, FROM
A.D. 1406 TO 1637.

Policy of the former Governments of the Island—The Isle of Man granted to Sir John Stanley by Henry IV, with the title of King—His Son holds a Tynwald Court, which alarms the people—Their grievances partially redressed—The title of King of Man discontinued by Thomas, Earl of Derby—Thomas, the Grandson of the preceding Earl, visits the Isle of Man—Invades Galloway and burns the town of Kirkcudbright—Retaliation of Cutlar Mac Culloch, a Gallovidian Chief—The fifth Earl of Derby makes certain regulations in the Island—Munificence of Edward, Earl of Derby—Mysterious death of his successor, Ferdinand—The Supremacy of the Island disputed at Law—William, Earl of Derby, obtains a new patent for the Isle of Man from James I, which he resigns to his Son, Lord Strange, afterwards called the Great Earl of Derby, and retires to a cottage on the banks of the Dee, where he died.

IN the preceding section I have pursued the history of the unfortunate little kingdom of Man through a long series of vicissitudes rendered interesting by the energy of human character displayed, yet such events gradually lose much of their power over the feelings and imagination by means of the constant recurrence to incidents originating in the same causes, and terminating, with a few variations, in similar issues. Rugged virtues and barbarous crimes fill the early annals of all nations.

The tyrannical power exercised by the Norwegian and Scottish conquerors over the inhabitants of Man, with the frequent transfers made of the Island by the kings of England to their favourites, who passed it from one hand to the other like an article of traffic, without reference to the wishes or rights of the people, seem at last to have eradicated all traces of a national spirit of

independence in the breasts of the natives. They submitted with passive obedience to every change in the executive government, the vacillancy of which has been already shown.

Such was the degraded state of the kingdom of Man when it fell under the dominion of the house of Stanley, whose history becomes, henceforth, deeply interwoven with this sketch of the Island.

The family of Stanley is of Saxon extraction, and was originally seated at Stonely, in Staffordshire, near the river Trent;¹ subsequently their chief seat was, for many ages, at Newton, within the precincts of Wissal in Cheshire. The name was derived from the lordship of Stanleigh, in the moorlands of Staffordshire, possessed by the lords of Aldeleigh, and given by Adam, son of Lidulph de Aldeleigh, to William de Stanleigh, son of Adam de Stanleigh, uncle of the said Adam, in exchange for the manor of Thalk on the hill.²

The genealogy has been traced in all its branches by Seacome, the family historian, from the above person to Sir John Stanley, king of Man.³

Sir John Stanley was, in 1385, appointed by Richard II, lord deputy of Ireland, and in 1389, he was nominated by the same monarch one of the lord's justices of that kingdom, in which office he continued till the deposition of Richard in 1399, when he was appointed by Henry IV. lord justice general of all Ireland. From this situation he was recalled by the king to aid in suppressing the

¹ *Trussell's Continuation of Daniel's Coll. of the Hist. of England*, p. 22.

² *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, 1735, table 519.

³ Seacome, in contradiction to Camden and other writers, says, "The family bearing the name of Stanley, settled in England long before the conquest."—*Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 2; *Camden's Britannia*, Staffordshire; *Bishop Rutter's MS.*, anno 1066; *Speed's History of Staffordshire*. An account of the House of Stanley (referred to chap. 12) is contained in some uncouth rhymes written about the year 1562 by Thomas Stanley, bishop of Man, son of Sir Edward Stanley, who, for his valour at Flodden, was created Lord Monteagle. There are two copies of these verses in the British Museum, one amongst *Cole's Papers*, vol. xxix, p. 104, and the other in the *Harleian MSS.*, 541.

insurrection of Rutland and other noblemen in England, and that of Owen Glendower in Wales. On quitting Ireland, he left his brother, Sir William, as his deputy, and on his arrival at court was appointed lord steward of the household.¹

The Isle of Man having reverted to the crown by the forfeiture of the earl of Northumberland, Sir William Stanley was recalled from Ireland and was despatched with a considerable fleet and army to take possession of the Island in his majesty's name.²

A.D. 1406. On the sixth of April, in the seventh year of the reign of king Henry IV, letters patent passed under the great seal of England, granting to Sir John Stanley³ and his heirs for ever the Isle of Man, with all the regalities, franchises, and rights thereto belonging, with patronage of the bishopric, under the title of *King of Man*, in as full and ample a manner as had been granted to any former lord thereof; which example was afterwards followed by Henry VI, in creating Henry de Beauchamp, duke of Warwick, and crowning him with his own hand, *King of the Isle of Wight*.⁴

This grant was to be held in fee of the king of England on payment of a cast of falcons, at the royal coronation,⁵ and during that ceremony, bearing the Lancaster sword by the left side of his majesty.⁶ *

¹ *Seacome*, p. 18.

² *Speed's History of Great Britain*, pp. 757—760.

³ I cannot find upon what authority Bishop Wilson has founded the statement that John, Lord Stanley, had the Island given him A.D. 1405, by Henry IV., (*Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 10), Thomas, the great grandson of this John, being the first Baron Stanley.—See *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 519.

⁴ *Seacome*, p. 19; *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, table 519; *Leland's Itinerary*, vol. vi, folio 92; *ap. Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, Dublin, 1775, vol. ii, p. 460.

⁵ *Gibson's Camden*, "There are one eyrie of eagles, and at least two of hawkes in the Isle of Man, of a very mettled kind, for which reason it was that king Henry IV, of England, in his Letters Patent of the grant of this Island to Sir John Stanley, did oblige him, in lieu of all other service, to present him and all his successors upon the day of their coronation with a cast of falcons,"—vol. ii, p. 1443.

⁶ *Seacome's History*, p. 20.

* Appendix, Note i, "Charter of the Isle to Sir John Stanley."

Sir John was made constable of Windsor castle and a knight of the garter, and was again appointed lord deputy of Ireland for the space of six years; but shortly after his arrival in Ireland, he died at Ardrie, on the 6th of January, 1414.

He is accused by an Irish historian of having been corrupt, rapacious, and oppressive in his government, of misapplying the public revenue, and defrauding the subjects.¹

A.D. 1414. As Sir John had paid no attention to his Manks subjects, never having visited the Island, his son and successor of the same name by his wife Isabel, the only daughter of Sir Thomas Latham, of Latham in the county of Lancaster, found it necessary to do so in the year 1417, in order to allay the discontents of the inhabitants, by checking the mal-administration of his servants.²

On his arrival in the Island, he was received with all the marks and insignia of royalty. The avowed object of his visit was to have the laws promulgated, instead of being locked up in the breasts of the Deemsters; although some supposed his real object was to intimidate the multitude by a display of regal dignity.

In June, 1417, John³ held a Tynwald on the mount of St. John, called in the old language of the Island, *Cronk Keeillow'n*, but in modern times, *Tynwald Hill*, surrounded by the dignitaries and commoners of the Island, where some new laws were enacted and many old customary acts confirmed. It was ordained, that even the sanctuary should afford no protection in certain cases;⁴ and it was expressly declared, that the Govern-

¹ *Plowden's History of Ireland*, London, 1831, vol. i, chap. x.

² *Seacombe*, p. 28.

³ The honour of knighthood did not descend from Sir John Stanley to his son.

⁴ "If any Man-slayer have taken Sanctuary, and if within three days after the Sanctuary is taken, the Coroner cometh to him and he acknowledgeth what he hath done, the Coroner shall, by the law of the land, take him out of the Sanctuary; and if he will not acknowledge his fault, the Coroner ought to make three proffers,—First,

ment of England had no authority in the Isle of Man, nor in any of the ports—the king being himself admiral of Man.

When John returned to England he left Thurstan de Tylderly and Roger de Haysnap as his commissioners in the Island, with instructions to act for the future settlement of the state.¹ How long they continued in office is uncertain, but their efforts appear to have been unsuccessful. In a court held at Kirk Michael on Tuesday next after the Corpus Christi, A.D. 1422, "The people rose upon John Walton the king's lieutenant with the intention to kill him, and beat and misused his men in the church and in the church-yard."²

These tumultuous proceedings caused the speedy return of John to the Island. On his arrival he immediately called a court of "all the tenants and commons of Man, to be holden at Kirk Michael upon the hill of Reneurling, on the Tuesday next after the Feast of St. Bartholomew, in the year 1422;"³ at which the Deemsters decreed,— "That Hawley Mc. Issacke and thirteen other persons, for traitorously rising upon the lieutenant with the intent to kill him, should be first drawne by wild horses and hanged, then quartered, and their heads struck off, and one quarter sett upon the castle tower over the burne, another quarter at Halland towne, and the third quarter to be sett up at Ramsey, and the fourth at Douglas."⁴

whether he will forswear the King and his kingdome, or he will put himself under the Coroner's Yard, viz. obey and come to Jayle and abide the law or grace, or he will abide within the Sanctuary during the space aforesaid; and if he choose to forswear the King and his kingdome and takes unto a harbour, the Coroners ought to set him in the King's highway and cut him across over the eyes; and if he holds not the King's highway, and if the Coroner finds him without it, he may arrest him by the King's Yard and bring him to the King's Jayle."—*Lex Scripta of the Isle of Man*, comprehending the ancient Ordinances and Statute Laws; published by authority, Douglas, 1819, 8vo., p. 14. According to Deemster Parr, this statute was revised in 1417, but was not proclaimed at the Tynwald Hill till 1422.

¹ *Sacheverell's Description of the Isle of Man*, p. 80.

² *Lex Scripta*, pp. 4, 5, 6, 7.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*

At this court fealty was paid to the lord, in terms of the laws, by the Bishop of Sodor and Man, the Abbot of Rushen, and the Prior of Douglas. The Abbots of Furness, Bangor, and Saball, and the Priors of St. Beade in Copeland, and Whithorn in Galloway were likewise called to do fealty to the Lord, but being absent, they were allowed forty days to appear, on pain of their temporalities being "*ceised* into the Lord's hands."¹ It was also ordained and proclaimed in court—"That no man, of what condition soever he be, go out of the land without special license from the Lord or his Lieutenant, with vessel, upon pain of forfeiting the vessel and all the goods therein."

A question having occurred respecting the House of Keys, the Deemsters, who were suspected of being in the interest of the Lord Proprietor, gave judgment, "That without the Lord's will none of the Twenty-four Keys be."² This decision being deemed an infraction of the ancient constitution of the country, the flame of discontent, which had been long smothering, broke out into manifestations of open rebellion, but order was soon restored by the executive authorities. The people, however, being still dissatisfied, John, on his return to England, sent over Henry Byron as his lieutenant, a person of superior talents and great prudence.

At a Tynwald held at Killabane, in 1429, it was ordained "*That prowess or trial by combat* be put down, and in future all such matters be determined by God and the country, instead of prowess."³ It was also enacted that "Whosoever forsetts the king's highway for any man, either to beat or slay him, forfeiteth his body and goods to the Lord."⁴ Also, "Any man who shall beat or smite

¹ *Lex Scripta*, p. 6.

² *Lex Scripta*, p. 16.

³ *Lex Scripta*, p. 9.

⁴ *Ibid.*

another man within twenty-four paces of the governor or lieutenant, either sitting in court or out of court, in his presence, forfeiteth his body and goods to the Lord, and *toucheth* treason.”¹

It was further enacted that no “Scottishman, Irishman, or other alien should remain in the Island without paying fealty to the Lord ;” and also, “ If any Irishman or Scottishman is found irregular or hath committed any notorious crime, he shall not be committed to the Bishop’s prison within the Peele, but to the *Moar’s Tower* in the Castle of Rushen.”²

In order to allay the still existing discontents of the people, Henry Byron caused six representatives to be sent from each of the six sheadings, to attend a court between the gates of the Castle of Rushen, upon Tuesday next after the XXth day of Christmas, A.D. 1430 ; from each of these six individuals he selected four, making up the number of twenty-four, and by that means, if not founding, at least re-establishing the House of Keys.

Assisted by these new representatives of the people, he instituted a strict inquiry into the conduct of all the established authorities; and having convicted John Coates the Comptroller, and several other official persons of gross misconduct, he dismissed them from their stations. He found also that Richard Puller, then bishop, had allowed “ The particles ordained for the reliefe of poor scholars, to be dealt into other uses, which charge was established by Gubon Mc. Gubon, his clerk.”³ He likewise relieved the people from certain oppressive ordinances, and settled the government upon a solid foundation.

John Stanley was steward of the household to king Henry VI, governor of Caernarvon Castle, and one of the judges of the county Chester.⁴ He died A.D. 1432,

¹ *Lex Scripta*, p. 9.

² *Lex Scripta*, p. 9.

³ *Lex Scripta*, p. 11.

⁴ *Anderson’s Royal Genealogies*, London, 1736, table 519.

and was succeeded by his son Thomas, who was appointed, like his father, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for six years. In 1435, at the head of an English army, he engaged the Irish "who invaded the pale," took Neyle O'Donnel prisoner, and slew most of his followers.¹

He was also included in the commission granted in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Henry VI, to the Earl of Wiltshire and others for the custody and defence of the town and castle of Calais and places adjacent for the term of five years. At the expiration of that term he was created Baron Stanley, and made lord chamberlain of the king's household.² He died in 1459.³

The Isle of Man was with him only of secondary importance. From the tenures of landed property being left in an unsettled state, agriculture was neglected, and the misery of the people consequently increased. Daily representations made to him on these subjects did not receive the attention their importance required. A new law, indeed, was enacted, by which estates were to descend from father to son, or failing such son, to the eldest daughter or next of kin; from which time the people were induced to build and make some small improvements.⁴

A.D. 1459. Baron Stanley was succeeded by his son and namesake Thomas. He commanded the right wing of the army under the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III, against the Scots, when he took the citadel of Berwick by assault.⁵ His loyalty to the young king Edward V, occasioned his imprisonment when Richard usurped the throne, but he was soon afterwards released and made steward of the household, created constable of England for life, and installed a knight of the garter. It

¹ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, edition 1706, p. 73.

² Creation dated the 20th January, 1455-6.—*Debrett's Peerage of the United Kingdom*, vol. i, p. 83.

³ *Anderson*, table 519; *Seacome*, p. 31.

⁴ *Bullock*, p. 60.

⁵ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, Arbroath, 1805, vol. ii, p. 109.

was he who placed the crown on the head of the Earl of Richmond on Bosworth field, and proclaimed him king of England, by the name of Henry VII.¹ By this monarch he was created Earl of Derby on 27th Oct., 1485, and constable of England with a fee of £100 per annum. He was constituted one of the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high steward of England at the coronation of Henry VII; and on the coronation of his queen, three years afterwards, he filled the same office. He was also one of the godfathers to prince Arthur, their first-born. The munificence of this nobleman was equal to his wealth. According to his kinsman and namesake² he voluntarily paid out of his own funds, the tax of "a fifteenth," imposed by Henry VII, on the inhabitants of Chester and Lancashire; and by the erection of a bridge over the Wire at Garstang, and another at Warrington, he conferred a public boon. He founded also a cloister at Paul's Chyne, and built the castellated mansion of Latham, which was so nobly defended by the Countess of Derby during the civil wars. He married Margaret, daughter of the Duke of Somerset, and dowager Duchess of Richmond. This lady was the mother of king Henry VII; but by her he had no issue. He died in the year 1505, in the forty-fifth year of his reign as king of Man, being the first earl of Derby and fourth lord of the Island. During the latter part of his reign, Henry Radcliffe, *Abbot of Rushen*, held also the office of deputy governor of the Island, situations of a very opposite nature.³

¹ *Anderson's Genealogies*, 1736, p. 774, table 519; *Hume's History of England*, cap. xxiii; *Debrett's Peerage*, vol. i, p. 83.

² Thomas Stanley, "by the permission of God, Bishop of Man *alias* Sodor, in the year of our Lord 1562," who records in his "right, true, and most famous chronicle," *ap. Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 474, "that when Earl Thomas was disposed to ride for pleasure or to visit his friends or neighbours, whose house soever hee went into, hee sent his officers before, who made provision, all at his cost, as tho' hee had been at his own house, and at his departure the surpleesage was left to the use of the house where he had lodged! I report mee is this not too honorable to be put into oblyvion?"

³ *Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 609.

A.D. 1505. Thomas, his grandson, succeeded to the title of earl of Derby and king of Man; but preferring, as is stated by a subsequent Earl in a letter to his son, "to be a great lord rather than a petty king," he relinquished the royal designation and thereafter assumed only the title of *Lord of Man*.^{*} Seacome, in speaking of this resignation, observes that lord Derby seems to have been farther induced by certain considerations of policy:—"The grant of the Isle to his ancestor having originated in the house of Lancaster, it was doubtless both prudent and politic to drop a title which might have given offence now that the posterity of the house of York, were established on the throne."¹ But a more accurate idea might perhaps be formed of the motives which dictated this resignation, when it is considered that it was by the union of the houses of York and Lancaster, that Henry claimed the crown of England, and that during his whole reign he was so extremely jealous of the least appearance of predominance in the house of York, as thereby frequently to allow the interruption of his domestic peace.²

Earl Thomas visited his Manks subjects in May, 1507, with the avowed object, as usual, of allaying the discontent of the people; but it does not appear from the statute book, that many ordinances were promulgated during his reign: some old customary laws, indeed, were revised and amended, particularly such as related to the interest of the lord superior; one of these bears reference to what was termed "Floutsum and Jutsom spoil." If a vessel chanced to be embayed within the heads of Man, whether above or below high-water mark, it fell by right, with all goods on board, to the lord of the Isle; if there was no person alive in the vessel, and the wreck was found at sea, outside the heads, with the wind or tide in such a direc-

* Appendix, Note ii, "Reasons for resigning the Title of King."

¹ Seacome's *History of the House of Stanley*, p. 44.

² Hume's *History of England*, cap. xxiv.

tion as to infer she might have drifted from the shores of the Island, then the persons taking such wreck either to the castles of Rushen or Peel, were entitled to a moiety of the value either in kind or cash as the lord had need for the same in his stores.¹ By another of these laws it was enacted that no baron could take enquest of the lords tenants or commit any of them within his liberty, without the governor's privity, upon pain of life and limb, such being the lord's prerogative.²

More examples might be given, if necessary, to show that the enactments of the second earl Thomas were all of a feudal tendency, and little calculated to satisfy his subjects. He diverted their attention, however, by turning his arms on the Gallovidians, against whom they cherished feelings of the deepest animosity. Whether it was that the domineering lords of Galloway had broken the spirits of the people, or that the Manks armament had surprised them unawares, is uncertain, yet it would appear that the inhabitants of Kirkcudbright offered little resistance. See verse 50—52, *Traditionary Ballad*, p. 50.³

This incursion of the Earl with the golden crupper was severely revenged. The Mac Cullochs, then a powerful family in Galloway, had at that time a chief of courage and activity, named Cutlar Mac Culloch. Being an excellent seaman, he speedily equipped a predatory flotilla, with which he made repeated descents on the northern shores of the Isle of Man, carrying off all that was not, in the border phrase, "*too hot or too heavy.*"⁴

¹ *Statute Book*, anno 1519, "Water-bailiff."

² *Statute Book*, anno 1520, "Baron."

³ James IV, in 1508, with consent of parliament, granted to the inhabitants of Kirkcudbright, as a reward for their services, the old castle and mains of that burgh, which had previously belonged to the lords of Galloway, when that province was a regality, independent of the kingdom of Scotland.—*Grose's Antiquities of Scotland*, London, 1797, vol. ii, p. 187.

⁴ The following is the deposition of John Machariotic concerning the losses he had suffered by this sea king and his Galloway men. It is dated at Peel Castle. "Taken by Collard Mac Culloch and his men by wrongous spoilation Twa box beddes and

This active rover rendered his name so formidable to the inhabitants of the northern coast, that they used to eat the sodden meat before they supped the broth, lest they should be deprived of the more substantial part of the meal, should they delay it for a second course. They also remembered him in their prayers and graces, as :—

“ God keep the house and all within,
From Cut Mac Culloch and all his kin.”

or, as I have heard it recited :—

“ God keep the good corn, the sheep, and the bullock,
From Satan, from sin, and from Cutlar Mac Cullock.”

It is said that on one occasion as the master of the house had uttered one of these popular benisons, Cutlar, in person, made his appearance, with this reply :—

“ Gudeman, gudeman, ye pray o'er late,
Mac Culloch's ship is at the Yate.”¹

The incursions of this Gallovidian rover caused the services of watch and ward to be maintained with great strictness for a long time afterwards. The male population between the ages of sixteen and sixty, then constituted their insular armed militia. Fighting and fishing were their chief employments. Agriculture languished for want of encouragement.

A.D. 1508. On a treaty of marriage between the princess Mary, third daughter of king Henry VII, and the prince of Spain, the king bound himself to the emperor Maximilian in 250,000 crowns, for the performance

aykin burdes, a feder bouster, a cote mailzie, a mete burde, twa kystis, five barrels, a gyle fat, xx pipes, twa gunys, three bolls of malt, a querne of rosate extendin to ic load of petes (peats), viii boll of corn, xi knowte.”—*Challerson*, London edition, 1653, p. 47.

¹ The Yaite is a well known landing place on the north side of the Isle of Man. This account of the Manks incursion into Galloway is extracted from the old Manks Traditionary Ballad, to which I have occasion so often to refer in the course of this work. I sent both the original and a translation to Sir Walter Scott, as mentioned in the 29th volume of the *Waverley Novels*, pp. 174, 175.

thereof; and Thomas, Earl of Derby, with other noblemen, were also held bound in 50,000 crowns.

A.D. 1514. The Earl of Derby attended king Henry in his expedition to France; and when the emperor Charles met his majesty at Dover, the earl rode between the two monarchs from thence to Canterbury with the sword of state in his hand.¹ He was one of the peers who sat upon the trial of the Duke of Buckingham.²

Like many of his ancestors, the second Earl, Thomas, was a brave soldier. He fought valiantly under Henry VIII, at the taking of Terouane and Tournay. He afterwards retired to his estate of Colham, in the county of Middlesex, where he died in the year 1522,³ and was buried in the monastery of Sion.⁴

Edward, his son and successor, being then only in the fifteenth year of his age, his affairs were, in terms of his father's will, placed under the management of the Bishop of Sodor and Man, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Isle of Man, the Archbishop of York, the Chancellor of England, and several other eminent persons, till he should attain the age of majority.

His mother was Ann, daughter of Edward Lord Hastings, and sister of George, the first Earl of Huntington. By this lady, Thomas, Earl of Derby, received, on his marriage, a fortune of four thousand marks; but from what cause does not appear, he made no provision in his will for her future support. The trustees, appointed to manage the affairs of her son, having, consequently, no power to place any part of the revenues of the Isle of Man at her disposal, she applied, in the year 1522, to king Henry VIII. to be allowed a dowry out of her hus-

¹ *Speed*, pp. 979, 990, 991, *ap. Roll.* cap. ii.

² *Stowe*, p. 513; *Hollinshead*, p. 826, *ap. Hume's History of England*, cap. xxviii.

³ *Hume's History of England*, cap. xxvii.

⁴ *Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 44.

band's estate. But, according to Kelwin's report, it was found, by the king's council, that the Isle of Man being no part of England, and not being governed by English laws, it was out of the power of chancery to interfere in her behalf, by granting her a dowry out of the revenues of the Island. This decision formed the precedent in another trial in the reign of queen Elizabeth, which was confirmed by the lord-keeper Egerton.¹

If the Countess of Derby, however, was neglected by her husband, the interests of her son had been more strictly attended to. The earl directed, by his will, that during the minority of Edward, all the constituted authorities and officers of the Island should retain their respective ranks and stations; and to ensure their fidelity, he confirmed to them for life the salaries which they then enjoyed, doubling their annual amounts from the time of his decease till his son arrived at the age of majority.²

A.D. 1522. Edward, the sixth lord of Man, was a knight of the garter, and occupied places of the greatest trust and highest honour in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth. Discord having arisen, to a great height, between the clergy and the temporal inhabitants of the Isle of Man, respecting *mortuaries* or *corsepresents*, he issued a commission, under his seal, dated at his manor of Colham, 26th June, 1532, to inquire into the wrongs complained of, on the part of the people; and in 1561 he appointed five commissioners to examine into, and establish regulations for, preventing "the great waste that hath been in the Castle and in the Peel, in bread, fuel, candles, and other things," to fix the fees of certain officers, and the amount of certain officers, and the amount of fines and amercements

¹ *Seacome's History of the Isle of Man*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 17; *Sacheverell, ap. Ward's Ancient Records*, London edition, 1837, p. 17.

² *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 45.

due to the Lord of the Isle, for infringement of the laws.¹ He departed this life, at Latham, on 24th October, 1572, where his body lay in state till the 4th December following, during which time preparations were being made for the great pomp and solemnity displayed at his funeral.*

His establishment was maintained with such splendor and magnificence, that it was a saying of queen Elizabeth that he and lord Bedford outdid all other noblemen in the kingdom by their liberality. "He had two hundred and twenty servants in a cheque-roll for forty-two years; and twice a day sixty old and decrepit persons were fed at his house. On every Good-Friday, for thirty-five years, he fed two thousand seven hundred persons with meat and drink, and gave them money. Every gentleman in his service had a man and horse to attend him. His house was styled "The Northern Court.""

During his time, Sir Thomas Stanley was lieutenant of the Island, and Henry, William, and George Stanley, were captains-general of the Manks forces.

A.D. 1572. Henry, the fourth Earl of Derby, and seventh Lord of Man, succeeded his father. He took his seat in the House of Peers in 1573. He was one of the forty commissioners who sat on the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, in the Castle of Fotheringay,² and was one of the stern enemies of that unfortunate princess.* He was lord high steward of England, and sole judge on the trial of the Earl of Arundel for treason.

Seacome, the biographer of the family, says that Henry did not visit the Isle till after the year 1588;⁴ but this statement is incorrect, as appears from the statute book

¹ *Lex Scripta*, pp. 38, 45.

* Appendix, Note iii, "Funeral of Edward, Earl of Derby."

² *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, Liverpool, 1741, quarto, p. 63.

³ *Hume's History of England*, cap. xlii; *Rapin's Hist. of Eng.* vol. ii.

* Appendix, Note iv, "Mary Queen of Scots."

⁴ *Seacome*, p. 65.

of the Island,—“Whereas it was observed by the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Derby, at a Tynwald court held with his council, on the 24th June, 1583, that eating salmon or salmon-fry in kipper-time, was noxious in breeding leprosy and other noisome diseases, it was therefore proclaimed, that none should be permitted to fish for salmon from the Nativity of the Virgin Mary till St. Marthr's day; nor for salmon-fry from April till Midsummer; and that no person should kill a salmon under sixteen inches, and no trout under eight inches length of clean fish, under pain of having his nets and engines burnt and himself imprisoned.”¹ At this Tynwald an ancient prerogative was also renewed,—“That no Scotchman, Irishman, or any other alien should take up his abode in the Island without paying a certain sum to the Lord for acknowledgment of his freedom;”² and a still more singular enactment was made,—“That no person killing a sheep sell the skin till after the flesh is eaten.”³

That Earl Henry also visited the Island in 1588 is certain; for his presence was imperiously demanded to restrain the impositions of his officers and to revive the drooping spirits of his subjects. From the words of the statute,⁴ passed in consequence of this visit, one might be led to suppose that a more liberal spirit had begun to show itself in the lord's enactments; yet they were on the whole of little importance, save in strengthening the hands of the executive government. Additional fines were imposed for disobedience to any of the constituted

¹ *Statute Book*, p. 116, “Salmon,” Statute 1583, 1586.

² *Statute Book*, pp. 5, 7, “Alien Statutes,” 1582, 1583, 1596, 1606.

³ *Statute Book*, “Felons,” Statute 1583.

⁴ The words in the *Statute Book* are “Forasmuch as heretofore by misrule and governance of the officers, the law of Man hath been misgoverned to them that they hate vigorously and to them they did like over favourably, so that by this misgovernment the people have been wronged and profit taken to the lord, otherwise than the lord would, and where profit should be taken, not done for favour. It is ordered, therefore, that the officers should be true, *principally to the lord*, and that the laws of the Isle be enforced without fraud or choler.”—*Statute Book*, p. 12.

authorities, from the governor down to the runner of the moar; but these, with others relating to Malt and Bargains, will be treated of elsewhere.

Several regulations were made as to the distribution of charity. "If a beggar of the Isle is found straggling, he is to be whipped to his own parish." There he might receive alms *at the bell*, but no poke or bag was to be allowed.¹ Coroners were restrained, by law, from distraining the only pot or pan of an householder, or a woman's *Sunday blanket*, because that ought to descend as a *corbe* to the next heir.

From the Isle of Man, earl Henry retired to Latham House, the family seat, in Lancashire, where he died on the 25th September, 1594. It may be proper here to remark that the honourable William Stanley, afterwards earl of Derby, was captain general of the Isle of Man in 1593, only a year before his father's death. Randolph Stanley was governor in 1594.² Henry left two sons, Ferdinand and William.

Ferdinand succeeded his father in all his titles and estates; but he died in April, 1595, as was suspected from poison, administered to him by the treachery of his master of the horse, or, according to others, by witchcraft, a story being told of a waxen image, found in his chamber, immediately after his death, with hair, the colour of his, on certain parts of it.³

A.D. 1595. Ferdinand had no male issue, but left three daughters under the guardianship of four bishops and four temporal lords. Seacome says that William having been so long abroad at the time of his brother's death and so little being known of his existence, the guardians

¹ *Statutes*, anno. 1588, 1664.

² *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, Preston edit., 1793, page 613; *Les Scripta*, Douglas, 1819, p. 72.

³ *Baker's Chronicles of the Kings of England*, p. 383; *Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. xxi, for 1751, pp. 269, 389.

took possession of all Ferdinand's property for their wards, and when the heir-at-law returned, he found some difficulty in getting his person identified.¹

It must be obvious to the most superficial observer that if William was captain-general of the Island within a year of his brother's death, this account of his absence must be highly apocryphal. It is equally evident that when Ferdinand placed his daughters' affairs under the management of so many guardians, he did so with a view of claiming the Island for them, as having a priority of right to the male heir.

While the cause between the parties was under litigation, a new question arose as to the validity of the original grant. It appeared that Henry IV having granted the Island to the earl of Northumberland, resumed the gift on that earl's rebellion, and bestowed it on Sir John Stanley, first for a year, and then for life; but Northumberland having fallen in battle, his titles were neither attainted by parliament, nor his possessions confiscated at the time of the first grant, and the king's subsequent grant in perpetuity being founded on the original one for a year, made before his majesty was legally entitled to bestow it, could not be of any validity.

A.D. 1595. The queen, however, out of regard to the claimants, whose ancestors had rendered many signal services to the crown of England, waived the question of right, and that justice might be done to both parties, appointed as referees and arbiters, Cecil, her chief secretary, Buckhurst, lord high treasurer, and several noblemen equally friendly to both the contending parties.

¹ *Seacome*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 67. This latter authority, p. 69, says, "The early manhood of this nobleman had been spent in pursuit of adventures in foreign countries, which became the subject of many a romantic tale and pathetic ballad popular in his day." Sir William Stanley's *Garland*, containing his twenty-one years' travels through most parts of the world was re-printed in octavo, at Leeds, in the year 1814. His absence and return very much resembles that of Sir William Worthy, in *Allan Ramsay's Pastoral Comedy of the Gentle Shepherd*.

Unfortunately, however, Elizabeth died before a sentence could be obtained, and the claimants were forced to have recourse to the courts of law at Westminster.

In order to prevent the Spaniards or Scots from taking advantage of the disputed claims to the sovereignty of Man, by landing troops there for the purpose of invading England, Elizabeth assumed the reigns of government into her own hands, and also appointed Sir Thomas Gerrard, captain-general of the Island.¹

A.D. 1608. King James does not seem to have been actuated by such friendly feelings towards the Derby family as his predecessor Elizabeth. By letters patent, dated 14th August, in the fifth year of his reign, he granted the Isle of Man to the earls of Northampton and Salisbury and their heirs, on their rendering the usual honorary service of two falcons at the coronation of the kings of England.

In the seventh year of the same monarch's reign, however, there appears an indenture, enrolled on the 18th of June, entered into between him on the one part, and the said earls of Salisbury and Northampton and the earl of Derby and others, on the other part (but not acknowledged by these second parties), whereby the Island is resigned to the king and his heirs. And again on the 28th June in the same year, appear letters patent, granting to

¹ *Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 69. By the act 5, Geo. III, cap. xxvi, p. 489, we are told, "That whereas on the death of *Ferdinando* earl of *Derby*, cousin and heir male of Sir *John de Stanley*, which happened about the thirty-sixth year of queen *Elizabeth*, a controversy arose concerning the inheritance of the *Isle of Man*, between the daughters and coheirs of the said *Ferdinando* earl of *Derby* on one part, and *William* earl of *Derby*, his surviving brother, on the other part; which controversy was, by her majesty's command, referred to the lord keeper of the great seal, and other of her majesty's privy council, together with the chief justices of the court of *Queen's-Bench* and common-pleas, and the chief baron of the court of exchequer; and till the controversy, and certain other doubts which arose on the letters patent should be determined, the said *Island*, *Castle*, *Pele*, and *Lordship of Man*, with the appurtenances, and all the other premises in the letters patent mentioned, were taken into the hands of her said majesty, in right of the crown of *England*."

Robert, earl of Salisbury, and Thomas, earl of Suffolk, a lease of the Island from the preceding term of Michaelmas for twenty-one years, at a rent of twenty shillings per annum.¹ In the same year, John Ireland and John Birchal were appointed by king James joint governors of the Island. Till this period the situation had always been held by a single individual, nominated by the lord proprietor, except in the case of the interim governor, Sir Thomas Gerrard, already mentioned.

After a litigation of many years, it was at length found, by the judges of the several benches, that the grant of the Island to Sir John Stanley was warranted in common law and that the heirs general, the daughters of Ferdinand, should succeed before their uncle.² Earl William was therefore constrained to come to a treaty with them for their claims and interest in the Island, and within a year after the grant to Salisbury and Suffolk, for twenty-one years, it was confirmed to him by an "act for assuring and establishing the Isle of Man in the name and blood of William, earl of Derby."³

In 1610, earl William resumed his right of nominating by appointing John Ireland, his lieutenant and captain-general; but whether he visited his Manks dominions personally, or took any concern in their internal affairs, does not appear either from the records of the Island or the pages of its historians: neither do I find the circumstance of his countess having publicly assumed the government of the Island, in her own name, twenty-nine years before her husband's death, anywhere alluded to, save in one of the statutes.³ This lady, who was a daughter of

¹ *Introduction to the Act 5, Geo. III.*, cap. 26, *ap. Mills's Ancient Ordinances*, Douglas, 1821, p. 528.

² *Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 72.

^{*} Appendix, Note iv, "Act of Confirmation."

³ "Whereas the right honourable lady, the lady Elizabeth, countesse of Derby, was trulie advertised, that because of the great imposition by an annceyent statute of this Isle, for paying of custom heyrings (called Castle Mases) in tyme of heyrings

Edward, earl of Oxford, died previous to 1637, and the earl desirous of retiring from the fatigue of public life, in that year made out a deed of gift to his son James, Lord Strange, placing him in full possession of all his lands and property, including the Isle of Man, reserving to himself only £1000 per annum. He then retired to a small seat on the banks of the Dee, near Chester, where he died in 1642.¹

fishinge, not onelie strangers have refrayned to come to the late fishinge of this Isle, but also the Islanders being thereby discouraged, did not shewe their willinge minds, nor consequentlie use their industrious paynes in and about the fishinge as otherwise they would have done, being reasonably dealt withall for the said Castle Mazes. And in regard thereof, the said Countesse both honourablie tendringe the good of the poore inhabitants of the Isle, and desirous to have strangers well used and to bring entercourse of trafficke betwixt them and the Islanders, hath, by her honourable direcons in her letters, dated the seventh day of September last past, [1613] appointed us the captain and officers to sett downe and limitt what porcons of heyrings we in our discrecons should meet, and sittinge both for strangers and countrimen (notwithstanding the statute) to be paid for Castle Mazes during the tyme of this next heyring fishinge, which we hope God, as he has begonne, will blesse and continue amongst us."—*Lex Scripta*, Douglas, 1819, p. 100.

¹ The Deed of Resignation is dated 11th August, 1637.—*Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, 1741, p. 74.

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER VII.

NOTE I.—PAGE 160.

CHARTER OF THE ISLE TO SIR JOHN STANLEY.

The King to all whom &c. greeting,

Know ye that, whereas we, on the nineteenth day of October, in the first year of our reign, by our special favour, and with our certain knowledge, gave and granted to Henry Percy, *Earl of Northumberland*, the Island, *Castle, Peel, and Lordship of Man*, and all the Islands and Lordships to the same Island of Man pertaining, which were possessed by *Sir William Scroop*, deceased, whom lately, during his life, we confiscated, and him thus confiscated decreetted, and which (properties) in right of that confiscation, we took as confiscated into our hand, which decreet and confiscation, moreover, were affirmed in Parliament, and in the said first year of our reign, with consent of the Lords Temporal in the same Parliament, as to the person of the aforesaid *William*, and all his lands and tenements, goods and chattels, as well within our said kingdom as out of it, for the good of the community.

To be had and held by the said Earl and by his heirs, all the *Islands, Castle, Peel, and Lordship* aforesaid, along with the Royalties, Regalities, Franchises, Liberties, parts of the sea, and all things to a part, rightly and properly pertaining, homages, fealties, wardships, carriages, releafs, escheats, forfeitures, waifs, strays, courts of barons, views of frankpledge, leet, hundred, wapentake, wreck of the sea, mines of lead and iron, quarries, markets, tolls, customs, pastures, woods, parks, chases, lands, warrens, asserts, purprestures, paths, fisheries, mills, moors, marshes, standing waters, ponds, ways, passages, commons, and other profitable commodities, emoluments, and appurtenances whatsoever, to the *Island, Castle, Peel, and Lordship* aforesaid, in any way pertaining or belonging; along with the patronage of the Bishopric of the said Island of Man. And furthermore, knight's fees, advowsons, and patronages of abbeys, priories, hospitals, churches, vicarages, chapels, choirs, and other ecclesiastical benefices whatsoever, to the said *Island, Castle, Peel, and Lordship* in like manner pertaining, of us and our heirs for ever, for the service of carrying on coronation days of us and our heirs, at our left shoulder, and the left shoulders of our heirs, by himself or a sufficient and honourable deputy, that sword of his, unsheathed, with which we were girded when we landed at the ports of *Holderness*, called the sword of Lancaster, during the procession, and the whole time of the coronation ceremonies aforesaid, as fully, freely, and entirely (the foresaid service excepted) as the foresaid *William* or any other Lord of the said Island held or might have held the said *Islands, Castle, Peel, and Lordship* during all the foresaid past times.

And Lord Richard the Second, lately King of England after conquest, by his letters patent, (which were confirmed by us on the third day of November, in the first year of our reign,) did, by his special favour, with the consent of his council, grant to his well beloved and faithful knight, *John Stanley*, for the payment of an

hundred merks yearly, at the terms of Pasche and Michaelmas, in equal portions, during the whole life of the said John; and laterly, as well by the letters of him lately king, as by our letters of confirmation, recorded in our chancery, we have granted to the said John, the Castle, Peel, and Lordship aforesaid, and all the Islands and Lordships to the said Island of Man belonging, which where possessed by the foresaid Earl (who against us and our allegiance traitorously rose up), and which belong to us as confiscated, in right of the forfeiture of the said Earl.

To be had and held by the said *John*, during the term of his life, all the Islands, Castle, Peel, and Lordships aforesaid, along with the royalties, regalities, franchises, liberties, fees, advowsons, and patronages, and others aforesaid, to the said Islands, Castle, Peel, and Lordships, in like manner pertaining, as fully, freely, and entirely as the foresaid Earl, or any other Lord of the said Island of Man held or might have held the said Island, Castle, Peel, and Lordship in the times foresaid, as in our letters to the said *John*, concurring the foresaid Islands, Castle, Peel, and Lordship hereby granted is more fully contained.

And now, seeing that the said *John* has restored to us the said letters recorded in our said chancery, we, by our special favour, and with an perfect knowledge, *have given and granted to the said John, the Island, Castle, Peel, and Lordship aforesaid, and all the Islands and Lordships to the same Island of Man belonging, which do not exceed the value of four hundred per annum, to be had and held by the said John and his heirs and assigns, all the Islands, Castle, Peel, and Lordships aforesaid, along with royalties, regalities, franchises, liberties, ports of the sea, and all things rightly and properly pertaining to a part, homages, fealties, and all others aforesaid, of us and our heirs for ever, for the homage, allegiance, and service of rendering to us two Falcons on one occasion only, videlicet, immediately after doing homage of the aforesaid kind, and of rendering to our heirs, the Kings of England, two Falcons on the days of coronation of our said heirs; and this for all other customs, services, and demands, as freely, fully, and entirely as the foresaid William or any other Lord of the aforesaid Island was accustomed rightfully to have or to hold the said Island, Castle, Peel, and Lordship, with things pertaining thereto, as aforesaid; the said homage, allegiance, and rendering of falcons always excepted.* We willing and granting that whensoever the foresaid *John*, or his heirs or their assigns, shall happen to die, whether their heirs be of full age or under age, then the said heirs, immediately after the death of the said *John*, his heirs, or their assigns, or after the death of the heirs or assigns of such heirs or assigns, from time to time, for ever, shall succeed, viz. : Whoever of them, immediately after the death of the person, to whom by hereditary right or any other way, shall succeed to the Islands, Castle, Peel, and Lordship aforesaid, with their pertinents, along with royalties, regalities, and others foresaid, shall successively enter upon and peacefully hold these possessions for themselves, their heirs, and assigns, of us and our heirs *for the homage, allegiance, and the said service of rendering two falcons on the said days of our coronation only, and that for all other customs, services, and demands, without any seizure or sequestration thereof, into the hands of us and our heirs, in right of the foresaid homage, or on account of any other lands and tenements which the foresaid John elsewhere holds of us, whether himself, his heirs, and assigns aforesaid, hold or shall hold of us or our heirs, or by reason of the minority of the same or the minority of any one of the same, and without any other profits, commodities, exactions, customs, or demands by us or our heirs aforesaid, from him, the said John, his heirs, or assigns, by way, occasion, pretext, or colour of homage or homages, for the Islands, Castle, Peel, and Lordship aforesaid, from this time, to be taken, exacted, or in any way challenged for ever, without us or our heirs having taken marriage of or from the*

heirs or heir of the said John, or of their heirs, on any occasion pretext, or reason, of the said Castle, Peel, Lordship, Homage, Rent, or our heirs, in future, having it in any way. Further, the said John Stanley possesses for the term of life, by gift and grant of our most beloved first-born, Henry, Prince of Wales, the Keepership of the Forrest of Macclesfield de la Mare and Moudrem, with the fees and profits to the same Keepership pertaining, to the value of a hundred merks per annum and twenty pounds per annum, for the term of his life, to be paid out of the *Estates* and *Pfificis* of the city of Chichester, by the grant of our predecessor, Lord Richard, lately King of England, notwithstanding.

In cujus, &c., T.R. at Westminster, sixth day of April.
 p B're of the Privy Seal.

NOTE II.—PAGE 167.

REASONS FOR RESIGNING THE TITLE OF KING.

The following is an extract from a letter from James, earl of Derby and tenth lord of Man, immediately before his execution at Bolton in 1651, to his son lord Strange:—"Some might think it a mark of grandeur that the lords of the Isle have been called *Kings*, and I might be of that opinion if I knew how this country might maintain itself, independent of other nations, and that I had no interest in any other place than herein. I agree with our wise ancestor, Thomas, second earl of Derby, that to be a great lord is more honourable than to be a petty king.

"Nor doth it please a king that any of his subjects should affect that were it but to act it in a play, witness the scruples raised and objections made by my enemies in his majesty's council, of my being too near allied to royalty to be trusted with too great power, whose jealousies and vile suggestions have proved of very ill consequence to his majesty's interest and my service of him.

"Take it for granted therefore that it is your honour to give honour to your sovereign, it is safe and comfortable, therefore, in all your actions let it visibly appear, in this Isle let him be prayed for duly, let all writings and oaths of officers and soldiers have relation of allegiance to him."—*Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, Preston, edition 1793, p. 356.

NOTE III.—PAGE 172.

FUNERAL OF EDWARD, EARL OF DERBY.

The funeral obsequies of Edward, Earl of Derby, were conducted with great pomp. His lordship, as stated in the text, died at his manor of Latham, in Lancashire, and was buried in the parish church of Ormskirk, in the same county, on 4th December, 1572, where he had caused a tomb, enclosing a vault, to be erected in a style suited

to the rank and dignity of his family. A very minute and circumstantial account of the funeral is given by Seacombe, the historian of the House of Stanley, from which is drawn the following abbreviated account of the ceremonies observed on the occasion :

After Lord Edward died, his body was wrapped in searcloth, then in lead, and afterwards *chested*. The chapel, the house, and the two courts, were hung with black cloth, garnished with escutcheons of his arms. The body lay in state in the chapel, where it was covered with a pall of black velvet garnished with escutcheons; and on it were set his helmet, crest, sword, and target, while around it were placed the standard, great banner, and six bannerets.

The steward, treasurer, and comptroller of the household stood by the corpse with white staves, while Clarencieux, king at arms, richly attired for the occasion, with a loud voice published this thanksgiving :—" All honor and praise to Almighty God, who, through his divine goodness, hath taken out of this transitory world, to his eternal joy and bliss, the Right Honorable Edward Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley and Strange, Lord of Man and the Isles," &c. The coffin being placed in the hearse, the funeral procession moved in the following order :—Two yeomen conductors, with black staves in their hands to lead the way ; one hundred poor men, in gowns ; then the choir and singing men to the number of forty ; next the standard bearer, with his hood on his head, and his horse trapped to the ground, garnished with a shaffron of his arms within the garter on his forehead, and four escutcheons of buckram metal, two on each side ; then the defunct's gentlemen, to the number of eighty, in gowns, with their hoods on their shoulders, mounted on comely geldings ; his lordship's secretaries, chaplains, and officers of the household went next, with knights and esquires to the number of fifty, all with their hoods on their shoulders, their horses trapped and garnished according to their different degrees ; these were followed by a herald bearing his lordship's helmet of steel, pannel gilt, with mantle of black velvet, the knots gilt, and on a wreath his crest curiously carved, painted, and wrought in gold and silver ; next a king-at-arms, richly dressed, having his horse garnished, bearing the defunct's shield, garter, and coronet ; another king-at-arms followed, decorated in like manner, bearing his lordship's sword with the pommel upwards, the hilt and chape gilt with a scabbard of velvet. The hearse which conveyed the body moved next in order, on each side of it rode six esquires, with their hoods on their heads and their horses trapped, each bearing a banneret of the deceased nobleman, as well as of the houses of which he was descended ; next after the chariot proceeded the chief mourner, Henry, Earl of Derby, in mourning robes, and having on either hand a gentleman usher with a white rod in his hand, his hood on his head, and his horse trapped ; these were followed by his lordship's yeomen, two and two, to the number of five hundred.

The stately hearse was drawn by eight horses, trapped in black ; and on each horse sat a page in a black coat with his hood on his head. This hearse, which was built for the occasion, was thirty-five feet in height, twelve feet in length, and nine in breadth—double-railed and garnished as follows :—The top part and the rails were covered with black cloth, the valence and principals being covered with black velvet. From the valence hung a fringe of silk, the majesty being of taffety, having thereon, most curiously wrought in gold and silver, the achievements of his lordship's arms, with helmet, crest, supporters and motto, and six great burial escutcheons, one at each corner, and two at the upper part.

At the altar where mass was performed for the dead, the chief mourner offered up a piece of gold, and received in return, as offerings from the respective mourners, the emblematical achievements of his father.

As soon as the corpse was lowered into the grave, the steward, treasurer, and comptroller, with two gentlemen ushers, and two yeomen ushers, all kneeling, with weeping and tears, broke their white staves and rods over their heads, and threw the shivers into the grave. Meanwhile the bannerets and other achievements of the deceased were placed round him in the tomb.

On the conclusion of these ceremonies, new wands of office were delivered by Earl Henry, at Latham Hall, to his officers and dependants.—*Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, Liverpool, 1741, quarto, pp. 55—62.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 177.

AN ACTE FOR THE ASSURINGE AND ESTABLISHING OF THE ISLE
OF MANN IN THE NAME AND BLUDE OF WILLIAM, EARL OF
DERBIE.—A.D. 1610.

In all humblenes we beseeche your most excellent Ma^{tie} yo^r loyall and faithful subjects, *William, Earl of Derby*, the Lady *Elizabeth*, his wife, *James, Lord Stanley*, sonne and heire apparant of the said Earle, and *Robert Stanley*, second sonne of the said Earle, that whereas the said Earle and his ancesto^{rs} have, for many ages past, ever since the seaventh yere of the raigne of King Henry the fowerth, held and enjoyed the Isle, Castle, Peele, and Lordshipp of Mann, wth all their rights, members, and app^tnecs as their owne proper inheritance; and bene reputed and taken to be the true and undoubted owners and Lords of the same, and forasmuch as the said Isle and Lordshipp of Man hath long continued in the name and bloud of the said Earle, and to the end that the same may continewe still, by your Highness' princely favor and gracious allowance, in his name and bloud so long as it shall please Almighty God. Maie it please y^r Ma^{tie} that it may be enacted by yo^r Highness, wth the assent of the Lords, spirituall and temporall, and the Comons in this p^{re}s^{en}t Parliam^t assembled, and by the authoritie of the same. And be it enacted, ordayned, and established by yo^r Highness, the Lords, spirituall and temporall, and the Comons in this p^{re}s^{en}t Parliam^t assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, that yo^r said subjects, *William, Earle of Derby*, and the said Lady *Elizabeth, his wife*, for, and during their lyves, and the longer liver of them; and after their deaths the said *James, Lord Stanley*, the heires males of his body, lawfully begotten, and to be begotten; and after his death wthout such issue, the heires males of the body of the said *William, Earle of Derby*, lawfully begotten and to be begotten, and for default of such issue, the right heires of the said *James, Lord Stanley*, shall, and may for ever hereafter, have, hould, and quietly enjoye, freely and cleerly, against yo^r Majesty, yo^r heires and successors, for vnder and vpon the tennres, rents, and services hereafter menconed, to be reserved against *Thomas, Lord Ellesmere, Lord Chancellor of England*, the Lady Alice, Countesse of Derby, his wife, late the wife of *Ferdinands*, late Earle of Derby, deceased, and against *Henry, Earl of Huntingdon*, and the Lady *Elizabeth, Countesse of Huntingdon, his wife*; *Grey, Lord Chandoyes*, and the Lady *Anne, his wife, Sir Egerton Knight*, sonne and heire male apparent of the said *Thomas, Lord Ellesmere*, and the Lady *Frances, his wife*; and the heires of the said *Elizabeth, Anne*, and *Frances*, w^{ch} said Ladies, *Elizabeth, Anne*, and *Frances*, are the only daughters and sole heires of the said *Ferdinando*, late Earle of Derby,

deceased, to w^{ch} said daughters and th^r husbands the said *William, Earle of Derby*, hath paid dyvers somes of money for their clayme, right, and title to the said *Isle, Castle, Peele, and Lordship of Mann*, as appeareth by their deed thereof made and now showed forth in your Highness' highe court of Parliament, bearing date the fowertoeenth day of February, in the yeres of the raigne of yo^r Ma^{ty}—that is to say of England, France, and Ireland—the sixth, and of Scotland the two-and-fortieth, wherein and whereby they have agreed to geue their consent for the passing of an act of P^rliament for the giving and extinguishing of such right, title, and interest as there pretend to the said Isle of Mann; and against the heires of the said *Ferdinando, late Earle of Derby*, and against *Thomas Ireland, Esquire*, his executo^r, administrato^r, and assignees, all the said *Isle, Castle, Peel, and Lordship of Man*, with the rights, members, and app^tenance^s, and all the now or late monastery and priory of Rushinge and Douglas, and the Fryers Myno^r commonly called the *Grey Fryers of Brimakyn* als *Bymakyn*, and of every of them, wth their rights, members, and appurtenances, in or within the said Isle of Mann; and the howses, scytes, circuits and precincts now, or sometimes, to the said monastery and priory of Rushinge and Dowglass, and Fryers Myno^r, every or any of them, wth all their app^tennces in or w^{ch}in the said Isle of Manne belonging; and sometymes Peell, of the possessions thereof, and all those rectories and churches of Kirkechrste, in Shelding and Kirkelovan, wth their app^tennces, whatsoever, in the said Isle of Manne, sometyme to the said monastery of Rushinge belonging and apperteyning, and Peell, of the possessions thereof, sometimes being, and all Islands, Lordships, Peeles, Castles, Monasteries, Abachies, Priories, Nunneries, Mano^r Farms, Messuages, Lands, Tenem^{ts} and Hereditaments, whatsoever, to the said Isle of Manne belonging, or in, or wthin the same scituate, lying and being, wth all and singular, their rights, members, and app^tennces; and the patronage of the Bishopprick of the said Isle of Manne, and of the Bishopprick of Sodorences, and of the Bishoppricks of Sodorences and Manne; and, also, the temporalities of the Bishopprick of the said Isle of Manne, and of the Bishopprick of Sodorences, and of the Bishoppricks of Sodorences and Mann, so often as the said Bishoppricks shall happen to become voyd; and, also, the archdeaconries, rectories, advowsons, donacons, and rights of patronage of, all singular, the hospitalls, churches, vicaridges, chappels, and all other ecclesiastical benefices, tithes, as well great as small, of what kindesoever; oblacons, obventions, fruits, profits, pencons, porcons, emoluments and hereditam^{ts} with, all and singular, their app^tennces of, in or wth the said *Isle, Castle, Peele, and Lordship of Man*, and p^rmisses, or any of them, and, all and singular, forestes, parkes, chases, lawnds, warrens, asserts, purp^rstures, fishings, fishing places, royalties and regalities, franchises, liberties, seaports, and all things to ports duly apperteyning, lands now, or heretofore, overflown wth the water of the sea, w^{ch} are now gayned from the sea and reduced to dry ground lands w^{ch} the sea now overfloweth, which, hereafter, shall be gayned and brought to dry ground, lying, or being in or near to the said Isle of Mann, villages, towns, granges, mills, rents, services, rents of assize, rents and services, as well as of free as customary tents, works of tents, deodands, fynes, amercem^{ts} anchorage, groundage, wrecks of the sea, knight's fees, escheats, forfeitures, goods and chattells, waved goods and chattells, as well of fellows, of themselves, as of other fellows, fugitives, outlaws, attainted, condemned and put in Exigent courts, admirall courts, portmote courts, leets, view of frankpledge, and all forfeitures, penalties, fees, profits, casualties and advantages, whatsoever, incident, happening, or belonging to the said courts, mynes of lead, and iron quarries, faires, markets, toles, customs, free customs, imposts, profits, emoluments and hereditam^{ts}, whatsoever, as well spirituall as temporall, of whatsoever kynde, nature or qualitic, or by whatsoever name or names there are known, esteemed,

called, or named, scittnate, lying, or being comying, growing, renewing, or happening of, in, or wthin the foresaid *Ile, Castle, Peele, and Lordshipp of Manne*, or wthin the sea to the said Isle, adjacent or belonging, or in, or wthin any other Islands, Lordshippes, Manors, Castles, Peeles, Farmes, or Lands to the said Isle of Man belonging and apperteyning, or into, or out of the same, or any of them whatsoever, or howsoever incident or belonging, or as members, p.tes, or p.cells of the same, or of any of them, or of any pt. or p.cell of them, at any time heretofore, had, knowne, accepted, occupied, vsed, enioyed or demised, lettan or reputed. And the revercon, and the revercon's remainder, and remaynders of, all and singular, the p.mises, and of euerie, or any pte thereto; and the rents, duties, customes, and services thereunto incident, due, or appertyning; and all liberties, franchises, priviledges, jurisdiccions, forfeitures, deprederies, immunities, econeracons; acquittals and hereditaments, whatsoever, granted, or mentioned to be granted by yo^r most excellent Ma^{tie}, by yo^r Highness several l^res patents, the one bearing date the seaventh day of July, in the yeres of yo^r Highness' raigne, of England, France, and Ireland, the seaventh, and of Scotland, the two-and-fortith, made to the said *William, Earle of Derby*, and the said lady Elizabeth, his wife, for, and during their lyves, and the longer lyver of them; And, after their deaths, to the said James, Lord Stanley, and to his heires, thother bearing date the second day of May, in the yeres of your Highnes' raigne of England, France, and Ireland, the eighth, and of Scotland the three-and-fertith, made to the said *William, Earle of Derby*, and the said *Lady Elizabeth*, his wife, and the heires of the said *William, Earle of Derby*, to hould the said *Ile, Castle, Peele, and Lordshipp of Manne*; and, all and singular, the premises of yo^r highness, yo^r heires, and successo^{rs}, respectively, and under the sevrall tenures, rents, and services, in and by the said several letters patents, severally and respectively reserved, w^{ch} said last mentioned l^res patents were made and granted during this p.snt session of Parliament. And be it further enacted by your Hignes, the Lords, spiritual and temporall, and the Comons in this p.snt Piam. assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, That neither the said *James, Lord Stanley*, nor any of the heirs males of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten, nor the said *Robert Stanley* nor any of the heires males of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten, nor any of the heires males of the body of the said *William, Earle of Derby*, lawfully begotten or to be begotten shall have any power, authoritie, or libertie to give, graunt, alien, bargaine, sell, convey, assure, or do away the said *Ile, Castile, Peele, and Lordship of Manne*, messauges, lands, tents, tithes, hereditam^s and other the premises in this act mentioned to be enjoyed as aforesaid, or any part or p.cell thereof from his or their issue or issues or other persons appoynted by this act to enjoy the same; but that the same shall remayne and continue to the said *James, Lord Stanley*, and the heires males of his body lawfully begotten and to be begotten; and for default of such issue to *Robert Stanley*, and to the heires males of his body, lawfully begotten and to be begotten; and for default of such issue to the heires males of the body of the said *William, Earle of Derby*, lawfully begotten and to be begotten; and for default of such issue to the right heirs of the said James, Lord Stanley, as before by this act is appointed, and that all gifts, grants, alienacons, bargaynes, sales, conveyances, assurances, and acts done, or to be done, or made to the contrary, shall be utterly void, frustrate, and of no effect. Savings, neverthelesse, that it shall and may be lawfull for them, and euery of them, to make such estates of such severall parts thereof as by the lawes and customes of the said Isle is vsual, and to make such leases and demises of such parts and p.cels thereof as tenants in taile, by the statute made in the two-and-thirtieth yere of the raigne of King Henry the eight, may lawfully doe within this yo^r Highness' realme of England. And be it also further enacted by the authoritie aforesaid,

That neither this act nor anything herein conteyned shall in anywise extend, or be construed to avoide, frustrate, abridge, impaire, diminishe, or p.iudice the state, interest or terme of yeres of Sir Thomas Leigh, Knight, and Thomas Spencer, Esquire, their executors, administrators, and assignes of the messaugs, lands, tenements, tithes, profits, hereditaments, and other things in the said Isle of Manne, made, demised, and granted by yo^r Ma^{ty}, vnder yo^r highness' l^res patents, bearing date the seaventeenth day of Marche, in the yeares of your highness' raigne of England, Franncce, and Ireland, the third, and of Scotland, the nyne-and-thirtieth for the terme of forty yeares. And that the said Sir Thomas Leighe, and Thomas Spencer, their executo^{rs} and administrato^{rs} and assigns, and every of them shall and may from henceforth, peaceably and quietly, during the said terme of forty yeres, have, hould, occupie, and enjoye the said messauges, lands, ten^{ts}, tithes, profitts, hereditam^{ts}, and other things in the said last mentioned l^res patents demised from, vnder, and vpon such yerely rents, reserv^{cons}, coven^{ts}, provisoes and agreements as are mencioned and expressed in the said l^res patents against yo^r Ma^{ty}, your heires, and successors, and all and every other p.son and p.sons, and their heires, having or claiminge any estate, right, title or interest vnto the said demised p.misses by force and virtue of this act, savinge to the archbishopp of York and his successors, all metropolitical jurisdiccon in all points, and to all purposes and effects of the bushoppricks and diocese of Manne, in the said Isle of Manne, as it geven, united, lymitted, and appoynted to the province and archbushopprik of Yorke, accordinge to an act of Parliament made and provided in the three-and-thirtieth yere of the raigne of King Henry the eigthe, king of England. Savinge, also, to, all and singular, p.son and p.sons, bodies, polittique and corporate, their heires and successors, and the heires and successo^{rs} of every of them. and the executo^{rs}, admi^{str}^{rs} and assignes of every of them (other than yo^r hignes, yo^r heires and successors, and the said Thomas. Lord Ellesmere; and the said Lady Alice, Countess of Derby, his wife; and the said Henry, Earle of Huntingdon; and the said Elizabeth, Countess, his wife; Graye, Lord Chandoyes; and the said Lady Anne, his wife; the said Sir John Egerton, and the Lady Frances, his wife; and the heires of the said Elizabeth, Anne, and Frances; and the heires of the said Ferdinando, late Earle of Derby; and the said Thomas Ireland, Esquire, his executo^{rs}, administrato^{rs} and assignes (the tenures, rents, and services reserved to yo^r Majesty, yo^r heires, and successo^{rs} alwaies reserved); all such, and every, and the same estate and estates, lease and leases, rights, titles, interest, rents, services, tenures, jurisdiccons, priviledges, liberties, possessions, revercons, remaynders, annuities, pencons, profitts, comodities, accons, entres, condicons, claymes and demandes, w^{ch} theie, or any of them now lawfull have, or hereafter shall, or maie lawfully have a clayme, of, into, out of, or for the said Isle, Castle, Peele, and Lordship of Manne, man^{ts} messauges, lands, tenem^{ts} and p.mises; or, of, into, out of, or for any of them in such, in the same manner and forme, to all intents, construccons and purposes, as if this p.snt had never been, had or made, this act, or anything herein conteyned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding; and yo^r said subjects, according to their most bounden duties, shall, and will daily pray for yo^r hignes long, happie, and prosperous raigne over us.

(Sign^d.)

GEORGE ROSE, Cler. Parliamentar.

CHAPTER VIII.

LORDS OF THE HOUSE OF STANLEY, FROM A.D. 1637 TO 1736.

Retrospective Sketch of the Proceedings of Lord Strange—His enactments against Regraters—Bloodwipes and Battery—Succeeds his Father as Earl of Derby—His connection with the Civil Wars of England—Takes up arms in behalf of Charles I.—His treatment from that Monarch—Overture from the Parliamentary Party—Recalled to Man—Discontents of the People—The exactions of Plough-dues, Smoke-pennies, Corpse-presents, &c. adjusted—Siege of Latham House—The Earl of Derby rejects offers made to him by Fairfax and Ireton—He joins the King's army—Is taken Prisoner, and beheaded—The Isle of Man surrendered to the Parliamentary Army by Christian—The Sovereignty of the Island granted to Lord Fairfax—Transferred at the Restoration of Charles II, to Charles Earl of Derby—Trial and Execution of Christian—Enactments by William Earl of Derby—James Earl of Derby stranded on King William's Bank—Act of Settlement—Dynasty of the Stanleys terminates in Man.

LORD STRANGE was called to Parliament in 1627 by the title of Sir James Stanley, knight of the Bath, and chevalier de Strange, without any local place, and sat as such in the house of Peers,¹ notwithstanding his father being alive. He appears to have first visited the Isle of Man in the year 1628, and to have taken upon himself the direction of affairs, as in that year he appointed Edward Christian his lieutenant and captain-general.—Referring to this circumstance, he afterwards writes to his son:—"While I was here (on the Island) I became acquainted with one Captain Christian, who I observed had abilities to serve me. He was a Manksman born, and had made himself a good fortune in the Indies; and

¹ *Journal of the House of Lords*, A.D. 1627.

he offered himself on these terms, that he would be content to hold the staff of government till I made choice of another, and would then willingly resign; and as for pay, he valued that so little, that he would do the service without any, or what I pleased. He was an excellent companion, and as rude as a sea-captain ought to be.”¹

Although William, Earl of Derby, did not resign the Isle of Man to his son till 11th August, 1637; yet Lord Strange, as lord-superior of the Island, confirms a miscellaneous act of Tynwald, passed in June, 1629. In the year 1636 he styled himself “Sovereign Liege Lord of the Island,” and issued orders and directions respecting the *mulcture*, *toll*, and *soken* due to the Lord, and also respecting the exportation of corn, with the manner in which the moneys collected for his use were to be secured. In the same document he fixed the fees of the *moars*, *coroners*, and *deemsters*, ordered all *breast-laws* to be committed to writing, and made several alterations in the laws of the ecclesiastical courts.²

In 1635, Lord Strange thought proper to supersede Edward Christian in the government of Man. His reasons for doing so are curious:—“While he governed for some years he pleased me very well, for whatever I bid him do he would perform, and if it succeeded ill he would take the blame upon himself, and if otherwise give me all the credit. This he did while I continued to favour him; but I observed, the more I gave the more he asked, and such things at last that I could not grant, without prejudice to myself and others; so after a while when I refused him, we fell out, making good the observation, that when a prince hath given all, and the favourite can well devise no more, then both grow weary of one another.”³

¹ *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, Liverpool edition, 1741, p. 91.

² *Lex Scripta*, pp. 102—110.

³ *Memoirs of the Earl of Derby*, ap. *Seacome*, p. 91.

Lord Strange was the most active law-giver that had held the sovereignty of Man, from the days of King Orree. Desirous that all the customary decisions should be remodelled and placed upon record, in place of being locked up in the breast of the Deemsters, he presented, on the 24th June, 1637, for the sanction of the Tynwald assembled at St. John's, certain regulations "for allaying the complaints made by the commons against engrossers and regraters, for quieting men's estates, and for punishing *bloodwipers* and *battery*," all which were adopted as "wholesome lawes for the weale publicke;"¹ a proof that habit, more than reason, is frequently the governing principle of mankind.

In 1640, his lordship appointed Captain Greenhalgh governor of the Island; and in a letter to his son gives the following reasons for doing so:—"First, that he was a gentleman, well born, and such usually would not do a base action. Secondly, that he had a good estate of his own, and therefore needed not to borrow of another, which had been a fault in that country, for when governors had wanted money and had been forced to be beholden for it to those who might be the greatest offenders against the Lord and the country, in such case the borrower became servant to the lender, to the stoppage, if not the perversion, of justice."²

It would be foreign to the design of this work to detail all the various parts that were acted by Lord Strange in the civil wars of England, but I cannot refrain from referring, briefly, to the principal events in which he was engaged.

When Charles I. ascended the throne of his fathers, it was under peculiar circumstances of pecuniary diffi-

¹ *Lex Scripta*, pp. 110—117. These laws were compiled by Lord Strange, and were comprised on nine sheets of paper. Certain blanks were left to be filled up at the Tynwald court, which was done by the comptroller, with the consent of the court.

² *Roll*, p. 58.

culty. This being taken advantage of by the Commons, to reduce the power of the sovereign, led to many scenes of confusion and bloodshed. Lord Strange had been an early personal friend of the king; and when the day of adversity arrived, Charles found in him a loyal and devoted adherent to the royal cause.

When preparations were in progress for the commencement of the civil war, lord Strange, who had then succeeded his father, as Earl of Derby, equipped at his own expense a force of three thousand men for the service of the king, and, in addition to this, collected twenty thousand volunteers to join the royal standard at Warrington. His enemies, however, jealous of such a display of power, prevailed on his majesty to erect his standard at Nottingham instead of Warrington, as had been intended; and not only to divest the Earl of the lieutenantancy of Cheshire and of North Wales, but even to join lord Rivers in the commission for Lancashire.¹

It was urged that this Earl was a popular man, and that his numerous musters were indications of ambitious designs—that it was dangerous trusting him with great power in his hands, who too well knew his alliance so near to the crown, that his ancestor the Lord Stanley, though he appeared with Richard III, and gave his son George, Lord Strange, as a pledge of his loyalty, yet, turned the battle against him, and put the crown upon the head of Henry VII.²

A.D. 1642. Notwithstanding of this ill-treatment, the patriotic earl of Derby again raised from among his tenants and relations, three regiments of foot, and three troops of horse, all of which he clothed at his own expense, and armed from his own magazine. At the head of these troops, he presented himself before the king,

¹ *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 79; *Bullock*, p. 85.

² *Rolt*, p. 54.

at Shrewsbury ;¹ but, by the special order of Charles, his forces were placed under the command of colonel Gerrard, and himself sent to relieve Manchester, then in the hands of the rebels.

So soon as this siege was raised, the Earl resumed the command of his troops, and, by forced marches, quickly rejoined the king's army, not doubting that he should be permitted to retain the command of his own brigade ; but, under the pretence "that it was necessary for his lordship to attend to his charge in Lancashire," his soldiers were again placed under the control of other officers. Disgusted at receiving such treatment from the hands of his sovereign, he relinquished all personal connection with the court, and employed himself in fortifying his house at Latham, where he maintained a troop of horse, and two companies of foot soldiers.

Aware of how the earl's services had been rewarded by the king, the parliamentary party now made overtures to him of the most flattering description, thinking thereby to enlist him in their interests. These proposals he rejected with disdain, and marching out to meet a strong detachment destined to besiege his little garrison, he put them to flight, having taken their captains prisoners. He, also, within three days, took both Lancaster and Preston by storm. While preparing for a similar enterprise, he received an express from the king purporting that his enemies had formed a project for seizing the Isle of Man by means of a confederate party there, and that, without his speedy care, the Island was in danger of being taken. A.D. 1643. He likewise received letters from the Island intimating the probability of a revolt among the people—that, following the example of England, groups had assembled in a tumultuous manner, de-

¹ *Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars of England*, Oxford edition, 1826, vol. iii, p. 252.

manding new laws, refusing to pay tithes, and liberating from prison persons who had been committed by the governor for insolence and contempt of his authority; and that a ship of war which his lordship had stationed there for the defence of the Island, had been taken by the parliamentary ships.¹ This intelligence, which proved true, hastened the Earl's departure for Oxford, where the king and queen then were. Thence, by the advice of her majesty and her friends, he returned to Latham; and having secretly made what provisions he could of men, money, and ammunition for the defence and protection of his wife and children against the insolence and affronts of the enemy, prepared for his speedy voyage to the Isle Man,² "with such men and materials as might answer the end he was about." He was obliged, however, to leave his wife and family at Latham House.

At a period prior to this the Earl of Derby's officers in the Isle of Man had imprudently agitated the question respecting the rights by which the inhabitants held their lands. They pretended that they had discovered old records which proved that the lord had an undefeasible and absolute right in the landed property of the Island, founded on the conquest of Goddard Crovan, who, when he took possession of Man, divided the whole among his followers—not as an absolute gift, but by grants to them

¹ *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 86; *Rapin's Hist. of England*, vol. ii, p. 477.

² In justification of this step, the Earl writes to his son:—"I have digressed to take off that objection often asked, that when every gallant spirit had engaged himself for the king and country, why I left the nation, deserted his majesty's service and cause, and became a neuter? with many such invidious and malicious suggestions to my prejudice; but I bless God I am fully satisfied of my own conduct and integrity of heart, well remembering all those circumstances as well as the wicked insinuations of my implacable and restless enemies. How others may be satisfied herewith, I know not—but think this short narration, for want of time to set things in a fuller light, may rather puzzle the minds of the readers, if any should chance to see it but yourself; but you, my son, are bound to believe well of your father, and I to be thankful to almighty God that you so well understand yourself and me. As for others, I am unconcerned whether they understand me or not."—*Seacome*, p. 87.

as tenants at will. And that as the sovereignty, when bestowed on Sir John Stanley, invested him with as full rights, claims, and authorities as any former king had possessed, it followed that his original title in the land was equal to that of the conqueror.¹

On this alarm being spread, the people became greatly agitated; but it was not difficult to persuade them to accept of the compromise subsequently offered; namely, that they should make a voluntary resignation of their landed property respectively, on condition of receiving it back on a lease for three lives. To this measure they were the more easily seduced by the example set them by one of their deemsters, who was the first to deliver up his estate, but who no sooner had his countrymen into the trap which had been set for them, than he obtained an act of Tynwald reinstating him in his former possessions. By the shameless avowal of his perfidy, the eyes of the natives were opened to the treachery by which they were misled.²

A violent aversion too was engendered against the clergy by their interfering in certain temporal concerns, by no means coming properly under their cognizance. They arrogated to themselves the exclusive right of making wills; and refused to register those that were not drawn up by a clergyman. When any person died intestate, the ecclesiastical officers seized the property, and made such distribution of it as they pleased. They also claimed a tithe of all ale brewed, of goods or money given as a marriage portion, and of the clothes of every person deceased.³ To these were added *corpse-presents*, *mortuaries*, *plough-dues*, and *smoke-pennies*, with many other

¹ Bishop Wilson, *ap. Ward's Ancient Records*, pp. 17, 18.

² Bullock, p. 94.

³ It was likewise a canon of the church that "all *fabricatores*, smiths, carpenters, builders, &c., give a tithe of their wages; the payment of which shall be left to their oath."—*Canons established at a Convocation of the Clergy at Kirk Braddan*, A.D. 1291, *ap. Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 135.

oppressive exactions. Those who refused to comply were excluded from the communion at Easter.¹

These iniquitous proceedings had raised the indignation of the people against their oppressors to a height which only the opportune arrival of the earl of Derby was able to remedy. In a letter to his son, he says,—“My coming to the Isle of Man proved in good time, for it was believed by most people that a few days’ longer absence would have ended the happy peace which the Island had so long enjoyed. When the people knew of my coming, they were much affected with it. I found on my arrival that my lieutenant, captain Greenhalgh, had wisely managed the business by patience and good conduct, and, observing the general disorder, had wisely considered that the people were to be won as *tame wild beasts*, and not by violent wrestling, lest they should turn upon you, and thereby know their own strength. The captain before my coming had imprisoned a saucy fellow in the face of the rabble, who cried aloud that they would all fare as that man did, which he warily seemed not to fear, and only threatened to lay every man by the heels that continued to behave in the same manner he had done; well knowing that if he punished him at that time the rest would have rescued him, which would have let them see their own power, and how little his staff of office could annoy or hurt them. He then adjourned the court to another time, and wished them for the future to put their complaints in writing, and with good words promised to redress all their just grievances, and for that purpose would send over for me, without whom, he told them, no law could be changed, with which they were well pleased, and so departed.”²

A.D. 1643. Soon after the Earl’s arrival in the Island, whither he was attended by a large train of gentlemen

¹ *Lex Scripta*, pp. 31, 51—56.

² *Memoirs of James, Earl of Derby*, ap. *Seacome*, p. 88.

and a considerable retinue of servants, he appointed a Tynwald to be holden at Cronk Keeillow'n for the hearing of grievances. On that occasion he appeared in great state, being surrounded by all his officers of state, and by a strong body-guard.¹ His policy appears best from his own words:—"I appointed a meeting in the heart of the country, where I wished every man to tell his own grievance, and I would give him the best remedy I could; by which I thought those that had entered into any evil design against me or the country might have time to find some excuse for themselves, by laying the blame and charge upon others. I chose rather to give them hopes, to prevent their falling into violent courses before I was prepared to meet them; and indeed I feared many were engaged by oath and covenant after *the new way in Scotland*,² and that it would not be easy to make them sensible of their error. Nevertheless matters were not so ripe as I could have wished; but I made one step in dividing the faction, remembering the old proverb—'divide and conquer.' Upon each parish giving me a petition of their grievances, I gave them good words, promising to take the same into consideration, upon which they appeared easy and departed."³

The next meeting of all the "officers spiritual and temporal, with the twenty-four Keys, and four deputies from each parish," took place at Peeltown, on 24th July, 1643. It was there agreed "that his Lordship should chancel-larise, order, and decide all the matters of complaint," for which purpose he ordered a grand jury of twenty-four persons to be chosen, twelve out of the House of Keys, and a like number out of the parish representatives, who were sworn to present every cause of the people's discontent, fairly to his lordship.

¹ *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, cap. viii, edit. 1779.

² *Rapin's History of England*, vol. ii.

³ *Seacome*, p. 90; *Peck*, cap. ix.

The complaints thus made were chiefly against the clergy and proctors for collecting tithes and dues for the church, contrary to the known laws of the Island. On considering these, the Earl allowed the parties accused to make defence against the charges preferred. The clergy and proctors having done so, he called another Tynwald at the Castle of Rushen¹ on 30th October following, where all the grievances of the people, whether as to *tithes, wills, or corse-presents*, were amicably adjusted,² and commissioners appointed to treat with them respecting the pretended "*tenure of the straw*."

Of the meeting at Peeltown, the Earl of Derby says—"I expected wrangling, and met it; but I provided for my own safety, and if occasion required, to curb the rest. Many busy bodies spoke Manks only, whom some officiously said should be commanded to hold their peace, to which I objected, knowing, by good experience, that by giving themselves liberty to put themselves out of breath, they would the sooner be quiet, and would be more contented after speaking than if you prevented it."

According to the Earl's own account, he placed spies amongst the people to cajole and divide them, and having ascertained from his governor what councillors ought to be present at the meeting, he took care that those who it appears were in the interests of the people should be "sent out of the way about other matters."

The person referred to as officiously commanding the "busy-bodies" to hold their peace, appears to have been Edward Christian, the late governor, who, at the close of

¹ In the ancient *Statute Book* of the Island, the names of all the persons who attended this Tynwald are inserted with this remark:—"The said 30th Oct., 1643, proved such a tempestuous day of raine and winde that many could not travel without hazard, therefore the names of those that were absent are not set down."

² *Peck*, cap. ix; *Seacome*, p. 90; *Rolt*, p. 59. The Manks clergy exercise still the vested authority of granting probates of wills, subject, however, to the cognizance of the Archbishop of York.—See case of Thomas Dixon, of Douglas, in March, 1838.

the meeting, having attempted disturbance, was seized and committed, along with many others, to Peel Castle, where he remained till his death, which is said to have happened in 1660.¹ Thus died he whom the Earl had before characterized as "an excellent companion and a rude sea-captain." History leaves us without any records of his private character, but we are led to believe from the act which caused his imprisonment that he was ambitious of power. If we may credit tradition, however, he was amiable, patriotic, honourable, and good in all the relations of life—resembling only in one particular, his unconquerable courage, that remarkable character in the novel of *Peveril of the Peak*, which the gifted author has chiselled out in such bold relief.²

Before leaving England, the Earl of Derby had received private intelligence that a commission had been issued by parliament to reduce Latham House. He therefore caused the fortress to be secretly provided with an abun-

¹ *Peck*, chap. ix. This date is either an error, or the following memorandum in the register of the parish of Kirk Maughold, commencing in 1647, is not correct:—"Edmund Christian, who was sometime Captain at sea and afterwards for a time Governor of the Isle of Man, he departed this life in Peele Castle, being a prisoner there for some words spoken concerning the King, when the great difference was between the king and the parliament. He was committed by James, Earl of Derby, who was then in this Isle. Edmund Christian was buried Jan. 22, 1660, in Kirk Maughold church, wherein he was baptised."

² In *Bullock's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 101, and in several other publications on the same subject, this captain Christian is stated to be the same person who afterwards suffered for alleged treason against the Countess of Derby and her family. Captain Christian's name was Edward: he was lieutenant-governor of the Island from A.D. 1628 to 1635, and, as we see, died in prison. The name of the person who afterwards suffered for treason against the Countess of Derby was William Christian, who rose only to the rank of receiver-general of the Island.—*Historical Notices*, p. 21. Edward Christian was the younger son of William Christian, of Knockrushen; while William Christian was son of Ewen Christian, of Ronaldsway. Sir Walter Scott has, likewise, fallen into the error of blending these two persons into the same individual.—See *Introduction to Peveril of the Peak*. The Mankmen are somewhat offended, says Lord Teignmouth, by the manner in which Sir Walter Scott has spoken of Christian, in his novel of *Peveril of the Peak*, but without reason, for his character is represented as blameless, except in regard to the single act of rebellion, of which the house of Derby could entertain but one opinion.—*Sketches*, vol. ii, p. 194.

dance of provisions and warlike stores; greatly augmenting at the same time the military force within its walls. By these means his heroic lady¹ was enabled to maintain that remarkable defence against the parliamentary army which baffled the skill of many of their most distinguished captains.²

A.D. 1644. In order to relieve his lady and family from their perilous situation, Lord Derby repaired to England, and with the king's consent succeeded, through the assistance of prince Rupert, who had just entered Lancashire with a considerable force,³ in compelling Rigby, the commander of the army before Latham House, to raise the siege. For this service he distributed three thousand pounds among the prince's soldiers.⁴

Rigby had conducted the siege with all the barbarity of a Turkish general, and the Earl highly irritated at the insults which had been offered to his lady and family, obtained leave from prince Rupert to attack him with a chosen band at Bolton, where he had concentrated all his forces. After a sharp conflict his lordship entered the town at the head of two hundred of those faithful soldiers whom he had been so ungraciously deprived of at Worcester. This victory was followed up by the prince, and Rigby was put to flight, although, not till nearly two thousand of his troops were slain.

¹ This Countess of Derby was daughter of Claude de Tremouille, Duke de Tremouille and Travers, in France.—*Seacome*, p. 74. A contemporary publication, the *Mercurius Aulicus*, by John Birkenhead, says,—“The Countess, it seems, stole the Earl's breeches when he fled into the Isle of Man, and hath in his absence, played the man at Latham House.”

² Latham House was most gallantly and bravely defended for full two years against all the contrivance and force of the parliamentary army, wherein, by their own confession, they lost at least six thousand men, and the garrison about four hundred.—*Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 115. In its defence the Countess acted like a Zenobia or a Boadicea. She preserved her residence to the disgrace of her besiegers and the honour of her sex.—*Roll*, p. 66.

³ *Hume's Hist. of England*, cap. 57; *Rushworth*, vol. vi, p. 638.

⁴ This sum was raised on Lady Derby's jewels, conveyed to her husband out of Latham House by means of a sally.—*Seacome*, p. 108.

After remaining a few days with prince Rupert, amid the ruins of Latham House, Lord Derby retired for seclusion to the Isle of Man, now his only property, the parliament having confiscated all his English estates.

In the spring of 1645 a band of Scottish pirates landed at Ramsey, and plundered the town; the Earl of Derby, however, received from the Scottish parliament reparation for the loss sustained. But to protect the town in future from foreign enemies, he, about the year 1648, built a fort there, and called it Fort Loyal.¹ In the same year a fort was also begun to be built on the Horsehill near the town of Peel, opposite the castle, by the advice of Sir Arthur Ashton, to stop any relief that might be brought by boats in case the castle should either rebel or be besieged.

A.D. 1646. Encouraged by an act of parliament, appointing a committee to compound with delinquents, whose estates had become forfeited, the children of the Earl of Derby, six in number, procured a pass from Sir Thomas Fairfax, enabling them to proceed to England with the view of applying for maintenance. Their petition was listened to, and they were allowed one-fifth of the annual produce of their father's estates in Lancashire, with permission to occupy the mansion-house of Knowsley. They had only, however, remained there a few months, when they were all made prisoners by Colonel Birch, governor of Liverpool, on account, it was alleged, of their father holding the Isle of Man in opposition to the parliament.

These juvenile sufferers having represented their case to General Fairfax, that officer sent a communication to their father to the effect that if his lordship would deliver up the Isle of Man to the parliament, his children should be set at liberty, and himself allowed to return

¹ *Feltham*, p. 162; *Rolt*, &c.

to England to enjoy a moiety of his estates. To this proposal his lordship replied :—" That he was greatly afflicted with the sufferings of his children—that it was not the course of great or noble minds to punish innocent children for their father's offences—and that it would be clemency in Sir Thomas Fairfax either to send them back to him or to their relations in Holland or France ; but if he could do none of these, they should never be redeemed by his disloyalty."¹

A.D. 1649. A similar proposition was made to Lord Derby, about the same period, by Commissary-general Ireton, son-in-law of Oliver Cromwell, in name of the presiding parliament,² to which his lordship returned the following answer :—

" Castletown, 12th July, 1649.

" Sir,—I received your letter with indignation and scorn, and return you this answer,—that I cannot but wonder whence you can gather any hopes from me that I should, like you, prove treacherous to my sovereign, since you cannot but be sensible of my former actings in his late majesty's service, from which principles of loyalty I am no ways departed. I scorn your proffers, disdain your favor, and abhor your treason ; and am so far from delivering up this Island to your advantage, that I will keep it to the utmost of my power, and your destruction. Take this final answer, and forbear all further solicitations ; but if you trouble me with any more messages, I will burn the paper and hang the bearer. This is the immutable resolution, and shall be the undoubted practice of him who accounts it his chiefest glory to be

" His majesty's most loyal and obedient servant,
(Signed) DERBY."³

A.D. 1651. At this period the inhabitants of the Island subscribed £500 in support of the royal cause, a sum which at that time must have formed a large proportion of the circulating specie.⁴ As an acknowledgment⁵ of his services, the Earl received the order of the garter from

¹ *Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 129.

² *Rapin's England*, vol. ii, p. 578 ; *Howell*, p. 223 ; *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 48.

³ *Hume's Hist. of England*, cap. lx, note v.

⁴ *Jeffery's Account of the Isle of Man*, page 120. According to Lord Teignmouth, the Islanders, " in the time of Lord Protector Cromwell, subscribed two sums of £500 each, towards the royal cause."—*Sketches*, cap. xx.

⁵ *Coleridge's Worthies of Yorkshire and Lancashire*, ap. *Wood's Ancient Records*, p. 103.

the young king, who was about to enter England at the head of a Scots army, commanded by Presbyterian preachers. It is well known to the reader of English history, that in August, 1651, the Earl of Derby left the Isle of Man with a company of three hundred volunteers to join king Charles, then in Lancashire,¹ on his march from Scotland to the south; but his majesty had passed through that country before his lordship could overtake him. He had, however, left major-general Massey to await his arrival at Warrington, where he met him with some of the principal persons of the Presbyterian party, who had accompanied the king from Scotland. The Presbyterian minister insisted that Lord Derby would put away from him all the *Papists* he had brought from the Isle of Man, and that he himself would take the covenant when they would all join with him. His lordship expressed a hope that this was not their general opinion, but was told that his British majesty had taken the covenant, and thereby given encouragement to all his subjects to do the same, and that if his lordship would not comply with their request they could not join him. Lord Derby replied that upon these terms he might have been long since restored to his whole estate—that he did not come to dispute, but to fight for his majesty's restoration; and would, upon the issue of the first battle, submit to the direction of his majesty on that point—that he would refuse none, of any persuasion whatsoever, who came cheerfully to serve the king; and hoped they would give him the same freedom and latitude to engage whom he could for his majesty's preservation; and that he was well assured all those gentlemen he brought with him were sincere and honest friends to the person and interest of the king. Major General Massey seconded his lord-

¹ King Charles II, resolving to march into England by way of Lancashire, sent an express to the Isle of Man, to the Earl of Derby to meet his majesty in Lancashire. —*Clarendon*, vol. vii, p. 491.

ship to the same effect, and exhorted them to unite heartily in manifestation of their own duty and loyalty, and the vindication of themselves from all suspected intentions of usurpation which then lay upon them. But the whole party insisted peremptorily on their demands, as already expressed; perceiving which, and that it was in vain to press them further on the subject, Lord Derby only added at their departure,—“If you will be persuaded to join with me, I make no doubt but in a few days to raise as good an army to follow the king as that he has now with him, and, by God’s blessing, to shake off the yoke of bondage resting both upon you and us; if not, I cannot hope to effect much: I may, perhaps, have men enough at my command, but all the arms are in your possession, without which I shall only lead naked men to slaughter. However, I am determined to do what I can with the handful of gentlemen now with me for his majesty’s service, and if I perish, I perish; but if my master suffer, the blood of another prince, and all the ensuing miseries of this nation, will lie at your doors.”

His lordship then departed, having with him only the volunteers who had accompanied him from the Isle of Man, and a few of the royal adherents who had joined his standard at Warrington;¹ but ere he reached the royal army he was attacked at Wigan by a squadron of the parliamentary troops, and notwithstanding a gallant defence, he was defeated with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner.

Although severely wounded, he made his way to Worcester, and was present with the king during the engagement on the disastrous Third of September. He afterwards conducted his sovereign to Boscobel, the house of a friend, in Staffordshire, since renowned as the place where Charles concealed himself in an oak tree.²

¹ *Rolt*, edit. 1773, pp. 70, 71; *Seacome*, edit. 1793, pp. 294—298.

² *Heath’s Chronicle*, p. 301; *Hume’s History of England*, cap. lx.

Returning to Lancashire, the Earl was intercepted by a detachment of the rebel army, which he tried to evade, but was pursued and taken prisoner.¹ This unfortunate affray placed him in the hands of Rigby and Birch, his personal enemies, who prevailed on Cromwell to grant a commission to try him by a council of war, at Chester, where he was held prisoner.² While preparations were being made for this purpose, the Earl addressed a letter to his Countess, then with her family in the Isle of Man, from which the following is an extract:—"Colonel Duckenfield, governor of this town, (Chester) is going, pursuant to his orders from the parliament and general Cromwell, to the Isle of Man, where he will make known to you his business. I have procured Baggerley, who was prisoner in this town, to come over to you with my letter. I have told him my reasons, and he will tell you them, which done may save the spilling of blood in *that Island*, and, it may be, of *some here dear to you*; but of that take no care, neither treat at all, for I perceive it will do you more hurt than good. * * * As matters go, it will be best for you to make conditions for yourself, children, and friends, in the manner we have proposed, or as you can further agree with colonel Duckenfield, who being so much a gentleman born, will doubtless, for his honour, deal fairly with you. You know how much *that place* is my darling, but since it is God's will to dispose in the manner it is, there is nothing further to be said of the Isle of Man, but refer all to the will of God, and to procure the best conditions you can for yourself, and poor family, and friends there, and those that went over with me."³

A.D. 1651. Lord Derby was charged with having borne arms for Charles Stuart against the parliament, with being guilty of a breach of an act of parliament of

¹ *Clarendon*, vol. vii, pp. 502, 503.

² *Clarendon*, vol. vi, p. 411; *Parliam. Hist.* vol. xx, pp. 53—57; *Whitlock*, 485.

³ *Seacome*, p. 134; *Rolt*, pp. 74, 75.

the twelfth of August, 1651, prohibiting all correspondence with Charles Stuart or any of his party; with having fortified his house at Latham; and with holding the Isle of Man against the will of the Commons.—In his defence, the Earl maintained that quarter was granted for life when he submitted to Major Edge, and this being an ancient and honourable plea amongst military men, was never violated, and should therefore be held a sufficient bar against his trial by a court martial. He urged too, in support of his plea, that the judgment given in the case of the Earl of Cambridge, which was in every way similar to that for which he stood arraigned, should be taken as a precedent. But his defence was overruled by the court, and he was sentenced to be executed at Bolton on the fourth day afterwards.¹

The brief space thus allowed for carrying the sentence of the court into execution was fixed on in order to afford the Earl no opportunity of appealing to parliament; but Lord Strange had been prepared with a relay of horses, and rode to London in twenty-four hours, carrying with him a petition from his father to parliament, praying to be protected by the established usage of civilized warfare. Several members supported the plea of the unfortunate earl; but when Lenthel, the speaker of the Commons, was about to put the question to a vote, Cromwell and Bradshaw, with several other members in their train, quitted the house, and thereby reducing the remaining members to a number inadequate to constitute a "house," obtained their object. The petition was laid on the table,² and the Earl of Derby was beheaded at Bolton on the 15th October, 1651.*

¹ The same night one of those who were amongst his judges, sent a *trumpet* to the Isle of Man, with a letter directed to the Countess of Derby, by which he requested her to deliver up the castle and Island to the parliament.—*Clarendon*, vol. vii, pp. 517, 518.

² *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 319.

* Appendix, Note i, "Trial of the Earl of Derby, and his Deportment at the place of Execution."

With this nobleman it has been said "the sun of the house of Stanley set in clouds and darkness." Sir William Dugdale, in his *Chronicle*, characterizes him as a person highly accomplished in learning and the fine arts, brave, benevolent, and generous, and though descended from a long line of ancestors, yet worthy of being distinguished by the title of "The Great Earl of Derby."¹ Lord Clarendon says, "He was a man of great honour and clear courage, but all his misfortunes and defects proceeded from his having lived so little among his equals that he knew not how to treat his inferiors, which was the source of all the ills that befel him, having thereby drawn such prejudices against him from persons of inferior quality, who yet thought themselves too good to be condemned, that they pursued him to death."²

The life, however, of this eminent individual was not considered a sufficient atonement for his offences against the reigning powers. Colonel Duckenfield, governor of Chester, and Birch, were dispatched with a fleet of ten sail and a considerable land force to reduce the Isle of Man.³ Sir Philip Musgrave was then governor of the Island, Sir Thomas Armstrong governor of Castle Rushen, and his brother governor of Peel. The insular infantry was placed under the command of William Christian, who had held the office of receiver-general since 1648.⁴ Christian had been from infancy a protégé of the House of Stanley, and the Earl of Derby had such confidence in

¹ *Seacome*, p. 76.

² *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars of England*, vol. vii, book xiii.

³ Among the places that fell this year (1651) into the possession of the Parliament, was the Isle of Man, for reducing which, three foot regiments were shipped at Chester and Liverpool, on the 16th day of October, and although they were driven into Beumaris by contrary winds on the 18th, yet, sailing from thence, on the 28th day of the same month *they had assurance of an Islander of landing in Man, without any opposition, all being secured for their reception.*—*History of the World*, by Dionysius Petavius, London, 1659, fol. 514.

⁴ *Historical Notices of two Characters in Peveril of the Peak*, p. 19.

his fidelity and attachment to his family, that, on his departure for England to join king Charles, he left his heroic wife and children under his especial care.

On the fall of her husband, the widowed patroness of Christian should have become more the object of his peculiar care. In opposition, however, to her interest, he was charged with having secretly entered into correspondence with Major Fox and the parliament, with receiving their authority to raise the country, and with having placed himself at the head of an association, the members of which were bound by a secret oath¹ "to withstand the Lady of Derby in her designs, until she had yielded or condescended to their aggrievances." This secret association broke out into open insurrection within eight days after the execution of her lord. Receiver-general Christian had the hardihood to carry to the Countess of Derby the clamorous claims of the deluded populace, whom he had been instrumental in seducing from their allegiance.

Lady Derby, although she had been so inclined, was not in a situation to resist demands made in the name of the people, however unreasonable they might have been. One chief cause of this popular dissatisfaction appears to have been produced by the keeping up of a troop in the Island *at free quarterage*.² These she ordered to be disbanded, and permitted M. Trevash, her secretary, to agree in her name to all the claims made by Christian.³

When the transports under the command of Duckenfield appeared under full sail standing in for the Island, one of the insurgents boarded the commander's ship off Douglas "to give intelligence of the state of the country," and when the fleet anchored in Ramsey bay, a deputation, consisting of John Christian, Ewan Curphey, and William Standish, went on board to negotiate for the surrender of

² *Historical Notices of two Characters in Peveril of the Peak*, p. 26.

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 29.

the Island; "the only stipulation made on the part of the Islanders being that they might enjoy their lands and liberties as they formerly had."¹

While these matters were passing, Sir Philip Musgrave marched towards Ramsey with all his disposable forces, in order to oppose the landing of the enemy; but before his arrival, Fort Loyal had fallen into their hands, and the commander been made prisoner. It has often been repeated, and not yet satisfactorily contradicted, that Christian treacherously seized Lady Derby and her family at midnight, and next morning conveyed them prisoners to Duckenfield,² who informed her ladyship that the Island had been surrendered by the receiver-general, on terms which he permitted her to read. Observing that the little islet of Holm, on the coast of Man, was not included in the treaty, she solicited liberty to retire with her children to the castle of Peel situated on that rocky islet, but her request was refused, and she was thenceforth closely confined in the castle of Rushen, till the period of the restoration.³

A.D. 1652. On the forfeiture of the Earl of Derby, the lordship of the Isle of Man was granted by parliament to Lord Fairfax, who appointed commissioners, having power to direct the affairs of the insular state.—This change took place without exciting any extraordinary sensation in the minds of the natives, who, probably, so long as they were governed by their ancient laws, were indifferent by whom these laws were administered.

Episcopacy having now been abolished, Lord Fairfax, with his characteristic generosity, applied the revenues of the suppressed see to the support of the ministers of the

¹ *Appendix to Introduction to Peveril of the Peak*, Edin., 1831, No. i.

² *Roll's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 89; *Seacome*, p. 382.

³ The march of Sir Philip Musgrave perhaps induced Mr. Hume to say,—“The Countess of Derby defended the Isle of Man, and with great reluctance yielded to the necessity of surrendering to the enemy.”—Cap. lx.

gospel, and the maintaining of free-schools at Castletown, Douglas, Peel, and Ramsey.¹

William Christian, the receiver-general, had got into such arrears with the exchequer, that commissioner Chaloner found it his duty to sequester his estates and to imprison his brother John for aiding him in his escape from the Island.² The whole country, at this period, was in such a miserable condition, that Mr. Chaloner concludes his account of it by saying, "the poverty of this Island is its greatest security."³

In the year 1655, as appears by the exchequer-book of the Island, certain orders and acts were prepared and ordained by Lord Fairfax, relating to trespass, choice children, yarding, and juries of servants; but after the Restoration these laws were, by an act of Tynwald, reputed to be invalid, having been enacted by the usurped government, and were therefore cancelled.⁴

A.D. 1660. Lord Fairfax held the sovereignty of Man till the restoration of Charles II, when it was granted to Charles, the son of the late unfortunate Earl,⁵ in consideration of whose loyalty and sufferings both houses of parliament unanimously passed an act restoring all the forfeited estates of that nobleman in England to the heir at law. To this act of justice, however, Charles, in whose and in his father's behalf so much blood and treasure had been expended by the house of Stanley, ungratefully refused to give his assent.⁶

¹ *Isle of Man Charities*, drawn up by order of government, printed in 1831, p. 21; *Historical Notices; Introduction to Peveril of the Peak*.

² *Historical Notices*, page 21.

³ *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. ii, p. 539.

⁴ *Lex Scripta*, pp. 140, 141.

⁵ *Camden's Britannica*, vol. ii, p. 1443.

⁶ The truth of this relation has been denied by Mr. Pennant and others (*Bullock*, p. 130); if incorrect, why did the Earl, who rebuilt Knowsley House in memory of the unkind and ungenerous treatment of his father and grandfather, by King Charles II, cause the following inscription to be cut in stone on the front of it: "James, Earl of Derby, Lord of Man and the Isles, grandson of James, Earl of Derby, by

On being liberated from her confinement in Castle Rushen, the heroic Countess of Derby. retired to Knowsley House, in Lancashire, where she died in 1664, satisfied from painful experience of the wisdom of him who first said "put not your faith in princes." Charles, Lord Strange, succeeded his unhappy father as the eighth Earl. He married Dorothea Helena Rupa, daughter of Baron Rupa, in Germany, an honourable family, but of small fortune.¹

Of Charles little is recorded, even by the historian of the family. His father wrote aphorisms for his observance in life, and maxims for his governing the Isle of Man; but in no instance did he present his lady, in her distress, with the consoling hope of her son's duty and affections, nor did he even recommend to him the care of the younger children. Lord Strange was at large when his sisters were suffering in confinement, and while his father was contending for his king and country, he remained in a state of inaction, which, at this distance of time, cannot be accounted for.

After the restoration the insular legislature found it expedient, for the peace and good order of the Island, to enact at two Tynwalds "certain necessary orders" without the usual confirmation of the lord superior; and the laws so passed at the Tynwald held on 24th June, 1664, did not receive his assent till 16th June, 1665;² a circumstance implying a want of due regard for his Manks subjects on the part of the lord superior.

In one instance, however, he seemed actuated by a sense of the wrongs which his parents had sustained. By

Charlotte, daughter of Claud, Duke of Tremouille, whose husband was beheaded at Bolton, the fifteenth day of October, MDCLI, for strenuously adhering to King Charles II, who refused a bill, unanimously passed by both houses of parliament, for restoring to the family the estates lost by his loyalty to him, MDCCXXXII."—*Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 408; *Roll*.

¹ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, 1776, p. 774.

² *Lex Scripta*, pp. 135—152.

a mandate, dated at Latham, in September, 1662, proceedings were ordered to be instituted, forthwith, against William Christian for all his illegal actions, while connected with the government of the Isle of Man, on, before, or after the year 1651. The indictment charged him with having been at the head of an insurrection against the Countess of Derby in the last mentioned year, and of then assuming, in his own person, the sovereign power of the Island, thereby depriving the Countess and her heirs of their invested rights.¹ It had been an ancient customary law of the Island that any person accused of treason might, *without trial*, be sentenced to be drawn by wild horses, then hanged, and his head cut off and stuck upon the tower of the Castle of Rushen, while his body was afterwards quartered and exposed to public view at each of the four chief towns of the Island.

When the evidence had been taken in the case of William Christian, it was put to the Keys, assembled on his trial, whether the prisoner came within the statute of 1422, and should therefore be sentenced "*without quest*," or whether he should have the benefit of a trial by the ordinary course of law? The answer of the Keys was, that he should be tried by course of law. When the case, therefore, was brought before the supreme court of the Island, Christian was called on for his defence. It appeared from the depositions of the witnesses who had been adduced in support of the indictment, that the insurrection had been brought about chiefly at his instigation, and that the insurgents had acted chiefly under his directions. To this was added his surrender of the Island to Duckenfield, which it appeared had taken place without the consent of the Countess of Derby, of the governor, or indeed of any of the military authorities, and which it was alleged, was in itself sufficient to constitute an act of treason.

¹ *Historical Notices of two Characters in Peveril of the Peak*, p. 22.

To none of these charges does Christian appear to have offered any defence ; pleading, however, the virtue of the royal act of general pardon and indemnity as a bar against all proceedings libelled against him. This plea the majority of the court, on the other hand, refused to concede, holding it of no efficiency in the case of treason against a member of the reigning family. On this occasion Edward Christian, one of the deemsters and nephew of the prisoner, having dissented from the voice of the court, withdrew, and proceeded with all possible dispatch to London, where he found means to represent to his majesty the affair as it was agitated at his departure from the Island. A royal order was immediately forwarded to Henry Howell, the lieutenant-governor of the Island, staying all proceedings or suspending any sentence that might have been passed against Christian, until further directions were received from his majesty.

In the meantime another deemster had been appointed in room of Edward Christian, and the court, although the prisoner urged his right of appeal to the king in council, precipitately came to the decision :—" That William Christian of Ronaldsway be shot to death, that thereupon his life may depart from his body." This sentence was accordingly carried into execution at Hango Hill near Castletown, on the 2d January, 1663. Christian made a speech to the populace,* and met his death with great fortitude.¹

* Appendix, Note ii, " Dying Speech of William Christian."

¹ The soldiers wished to bind him to the spot on which he stood. He said, " Trouble not yourselves for me, for I that dare face death in whatever shape he comes, will not start at your fire and bullets ; nor can the power you have deprive me of my courage." At his desire, a piece of white paper was given to him, which, with the utmost composure, he pinned to his breast, to direct them where to aim ; and, after a short prayer, addressed the soldiers thus, " Hit this, and you do your own and my work." And presently after, stretching forth his arms, which was the signal he gave them, he was shot through the heart, and fell."—*Historical Notices*, p. 35. In the Parish Register, at Kirk Malew, is the following memorandum, seemingly written at the time the event occurred :—" Mr. William Christian, of Ronaldsway,

A.D. 1664. On the presentation of an appeal to the king against "the illegal sentence of the Manks legislature, in reference to William Christian," an order was issued at Whitehall and a sergeant-at-arms dispatched to bring the governor, deemsters, and three members specified as forming the pretended court before the privy council. There, on the 5th of July, all parties were heard at full length, in presence of his majesty; and on the 5th of August following a judgment was extended to the following effect:—"His majesty being deeply sensible of the violation of his act of general pardon in the case of William Christian, did, by, and with the advice of his council, order that all persons in any way connected in the seizure of the estate of the said William Christian, deceased, or instrumental in the ejection of his widow or children out of their houses and fortune, do take care that entire restoration is to be made of all the said estates, as well real as personal."* By the same judgment, it was ordered that all expenses incurred in the prosecution of these claims were likewise to be paid by the deemsters and members of the said court of justice; and the deemsters were further ordered to be confined to the prison of the King's Bench, in order that they might be proceeded against in the ordinary course of justice. Edward Christian, also, was reinstated in his office of deemster; and the governor who had been charged with having received the order, suspending the sentence of Christian, a day prior to his execution, was reprimanded for withholding the same.

On a full consideration of the circumstances connected with the case of Christian, it must appear, I think, clearly evident that his execution was an unjustifiable stretch of

late Receiver, was shott to death at Hango Hill, 2nd January, 1662. He died most penitently and most curragiously—made a good end—prayed earnestly—and, next day, was buried in the chancel of Kirk Malew."

* Appendix, Note iii, "Orders of the King in Council."

feudal power, on the part of the Countess of Derby and her son, and when brought in opposition to the royal act of indemnity, that it was totally at variance with the ostensible clemency of the king, and in all probability was the true cause of his majesty's refusing to restore the forfeited estates of the Earl. On the other hand, I think it is equally evident that all the attempts that have been made to depict William Christian as an amiable and justifiable character have been far from overturning the antecedent presumption of his moral and political guilt. The character which he bears with his countrymen of the present day is perhaps more indebted for its favourable hue to some existing records in rhyme, expressive, it may be, of the momentary feelings of popular commiseration at his fate, than to any genuine qualities of head and heart which could claim a merited sympathy in the affections of his countrymen.

Charles, Earl of Derby, appears at length to have effected a reconciliation with his sovereign, for by letters patent in the 19th year of king Charles's reign, the royal mines of gold and silver in the Isle of Man, are granted to him and the heirs male of his body for ever.¹ He died in 1672, and was succeeded by his son William, who married Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Ossary and sister to the Duke of Ormond.

According to Waldron he lived for some time in the Castle of Rushen;² and by the statute-book of the Island he appears to have been present at the Tynwald held at St. John's, on the 30th July, 1691, where it was enacted that none should take above six per cent. for the loan of money, and that "cotlers, intackholders or persons shall

¹ *Mills's Ancient Ordinances*, Douglas, 1821, p. 529.—This grant expired in 1735, on the failure of heirs male, of Earl Charles, whereby the right of these gold and silver mines reverted to the king of Great Britain.

² *Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, p. 96.

not keep any more cattle, horses, or sheep than what they have sufficient grass and winter provision for.”¹

At the midsummer Tynwald of 1696,² the customary statute of 1429, which declared—“that noe Scottish-man, or any other aliens, be resident in the land of Man,”³ was repealed; and it was enacted, “that all and every person or persons, whether subjects of the kingdoms of Scotland or Ireland, or any foreigners or strangers of any other kingdom or nation, whose prince is at peace with the crown of England, coming into this Isle to reside, shall for the future have and enjoy the immunitys, privileges, and advantages, that any of the subjects of England have, or hereafter may have or enjoy, by the laws and customs of this Isle.”⁴ The law thus repealed appears to have originated in a wish to check the intrusion of strangers who might come under the guise of friendship with a hostile intent, as was often the case in olden times. The Manksmen were especially suspicious of the Scots, whom they designated, “our enemies the *Red-shanks*.”⁵ The abrogation of this narrow system of policy, produced important changes in the affairs of the Island. To escape from the devastations of the civil-war in Ireland, *many thousands of the Protestants* of that country

¹ *Lex Scripta*, pp. 172—175.

² *Lex Scripta*, p. 183.

³ *Ibid*, p. 9.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 183.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 98. This was a common nick-name for a Scotch highlander, one of whom is thus described by Colvill, in his poem, *The Whig's Supplication*, Edinburgh, 1711, p. 80 :—

“ One man quoth he oft times hath stood,
And put to flight a multitude,
Like Sampson, Wallace, and Sir Bewis,
And Finmacoul beside the Lewis,
Who in a certain time of year,
Did rout and chase an hundred deer,
Till he behind, and they before,
Did run an hundred miles and more,
Which, questionless, prejudged his toes,
For *Red-shanks* then did wear no shoes !”

removed to the Isle of Man,¹ as did, also, many English merchants, for the purpose of carrying on the contraband trade,² which will be fully detailed in a subsequent section of this work.

This important Act of Tynwald was confirmed by Earl William, who seems to have taken considerable interest in his Manks dominions. He conferred another important benefit on the Island by the appointment of Wilson to the bishopric. Unambitious of preferment at court he lived much in retirement, and died at Chester in the year 1702. He was interred at Ormskirk in the repository of his family.³

Lord Strange, the only son of Earl William, died at Venice in 1700, and was succeeded by his brother James, then a brigadier-general in the army, who thereby became the tenth Earl of Derby and Lord of Man.

A.D. 1702. James had from his youth been trained to military discipline and the perils of war, under his heroic relation, William Prince of Orange, afterwards king of England. He had the command of one of the battalions of Dutch Guards destined to accompany the stadtholder to England, and embarked at Helvoet-sluis on 21st October, 1688,⁴ on board the admiral's ship along with the Prince of Orange, but in the tempest by which that armament was overtaken at sea, the flag-ship struck on a sand bank on the coast of Man, near the entrance of Ramsey bay, and all on board were exposed to the most imminent danger. These sands, although seven miles in length, were not then laid down in any chart of the

¹ *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702. See Introduction; *Waldron*, p. 153.

² *Bullock's Hist. of the Isle of Man*, London, 1816, p. 190.

³ *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 406.

⁴ In this year William Sacheverell, governor of the Isle of Man, was employed in an attempt to recover the stores of the *Florida*, one of the great vessels of the Spanish Armada, which was blown up and sunk in the harbour of Tobermoray.—*Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702.

channel, but from the circumstance alluded to, it has since been called King William's Bank.¹

In Ireland as well as in Flanders colonel Stanley commanded under his royal relative with signal bravery ; but quitting the army on his elevation to the peerage he generously bestowed his regiment on an old friend and brother officer.²

At the accession of James to the lordship of Man, many of the leases, which had been granted for a term of three lives in the time of his grandfather, had expired, while others were on the eve of expiring, without any provision being made for their renewal. Agriculture, in consequence, became so much neglected that several seasons of scarcity, approaching to famine, had occurred, whilst the people continued to be chiefly engaged either in the fishery or in following the more pernicious employment of smuggling, depending on the opposite coasts for such a supply of corn as was necessary for their maintenance. The revenue of the Island had, on these accounts, fallen so low that Lord Derby farmed it to a merchant in Liverpool for the sum of £1000 per annum.³

A.D. 1703. During the time of the late earl, commissioners had been dispatched by the Islanders to England, in order to negotiate with his lordship for a redress of the various grievances, but his death occurred before the object had been finally accomplished. On the accession of the present earl, therefore, these negotiations were renewed, and chiefly through the influence of Bishop Wilson the act of settlement was obtained, which passed into a law on the 4th February, 1703.* This statute is justly considered the *Manks Magna Charta*, as by it the landholder was finally established in his holding, and the des-

¹ *Hume's Hist. of England*, cap. 71 ; *Waldron*, p. 190.

² *Seacome*, p. 406.

³ *Parliamentary Report of 1805 ; Speech of Sir William Young in reply to the Duke of Atholl's Petition.*

* Appendix, Note iv, "Act of Settlement."

cent arranged in perpetuity on payment of certain fixed fines, rents, and duties to the lord.¹

By the act of settlement, however, the inhabitants were not exempted from giving their best assistance in the defence of the Island during the time of war or imminent danger, but were bound to afford such and in the way agreed on by the governor and twenty-four keys, for the time being.²

From this auspicious epoch in its history, the improvement of the Island is stated to have steadily advanced; but its illicit trade continued unabated; yet, thirty years afterwards we find the Manks legislature complaining of and providing against a scarcity of corn, by "An act to prevent petty tippling houses," passed at a Tynwald held on the 16th July, 1734. It being found that the great consumption in those sort of houses often occasioned scarcity of corn and other provisions, thereby reducing the Island to supply itself from abroad; while they also wastefully destroyed what would not only have been profitable, but would have brought "money and other necessaries" into the Island, "which the commonality could not want,"³ It was enacted—That no person should keep a public-house, unless recommended for that purpose by the minister and captain of the parish, the coroner of the sheading, and four of the grand inquest of each parish yearly, and approved of by the governor. Every person receiving such licence being required to pay two shillings and six pence for the same—to be divided—fourteen pence to the governor's clerk, seven pence to the comptroller, and the remaining nine pence to the House of Keys "for reparation of their houses and to find necessaries at the time of their meetings."⁴

¹ *Statute*, anno 1703; *Lex Scripta*, p. 190. Mr. Ewan Christian disbursed the sum of £160 in obtaining the act of settlement, for which the landed property of the Island was assessed in 1707.—*Lex Scripta*, p. 213; *Stowell's Life of Bishop Wilson*.

² *Johnson's Manks Jurisprudence*, p. 111.

³ *Statute*, anno 1734; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 254, 255.

⁴ *Lex Scripta*, p. 256.

On the same occasion it having been represented to his lordship that several vicarages in the Island had not for ages past had a house on them, for the residence of the incumbents, and that others were in a ruinous state for want of proper means of keeping them in repair, he sanctioned an act of Tynwald, of same date, for the encouragement of any rector or vicar to repair or build a dwelling house on any church glebe within the Isle of Man.¹

These were the last public acts of the Stanleys in Man, that family having now in a direct line governed the Island for upwards of three hundred years.* James, the tenth Earl, and thirteenth in the Manks dynasty, died at Knowsley, 1st February, 1735-6, at an advanced age, having been born 3rd July, 1664. He married Mary, only daughter and heiress of Sir William Morley, of Halnacar, in Sussex, by whom he had only one child, who died young—thus leaving him childless at his decease.

The lordship of Man consequently devolved, by the female line, on James Murray, *second* Duke of Atholl,² in right of his grandmother, Lady Amelia Sophia Stanley, daughter of James, the great Earl of Derby. The earldom of Derby, on the other hand, passed, in the male line, to Sir Edward Stanley, descended from Thomas, the first Earl, who placed the crown on the head of the Earl of Richmond in Bosworth field on the 22nd of August, 1485, and proclaimed him King of England by the title of Henry VII.

While under the dominion of the house of Stanley, the Manks people enjoyed all the privileges of their ancient constitution; and while the best blood of the surrounding

¹ *Lex Scripta*, p. 257.

* Appendix, Note v, "Succession of the House of Stanley."

² In *Bullock's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 140, it is stated that by the death of James, Earl of Derby, in 1736, the lordship of Man devolved on James Murray, *first* Duke of Atholl, son and heir of the Marquis of Atholl; and other writers on the same subject have fallen into a similar error, as will be clearly pointed out in the next chapter.

nations was spilling in fearful profusion, the sword was sheathed in Man; but when the people departed from their pastoral pursuits by becoming the promoters of a trade hostile to the interests of Great Britain, they took the first step towards the overthrow of the independency of their little enfeebled kingdom.

On the accession of Sir John Stanley to the sovereignty of the Island, he found the inhabitants living in mud huts, without doors or windows, and constructed with the single purpose of protecting them from the inclemency of the weather. The nobility of the little state were dispersed, and scarcely an individual remained in the country above the rank of a peasant.¹ From this primitive state the Islanders seem to have advanced slowly under the rule of Sir John's successors. The exactions made by the clergy from the scanty gains of the people were always oppressive, as were, in most instances, "the suits and services" required for the support of the civil and military government of the Island; consequently, the clear revenue received by the lord superior was insignificant, in comparison with the princely income derived from his possessions in England and Wales, and the affairs of the little Island seem to have occupied only a corresponding part of his attention. The Islanders, however, enjoyed the blessings of peace under the rule of the house of Stanley; and when, at length, certain restrictions on commerce were removed, and their "estates made descendible from ancestor to heir," they were politically placed on a footing of equality with the inhabitants of the surrounding countries. Referring to the period in question, Bishop Wilson remarks,—“As no people are more blessed, so none are more happy and content than the Manks under their venerable laws, and simple, primitive, I had almost said patriarchal constitution.”²

¹ *Bullock's History*, p. 48.

² *Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 21.

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER VIII.

NOTE I.—PAGE 204.

TRIAL OF THE EARL OF DERBY, AND HIS DEPORTMENT AT
THE PLACE OF EXECUTION.

His lordship was brought to his trial, before a *court martial* at Chester, composed of twenty *sequestrators* and *committee-men*. General *Mackworth* was *president*, assisted by the colonels *Mitton*, *Duckenfield*, *Bradshaw*, *Croxton*, and *Twistleton*; the lieutenant-colonels *Birkenhead*, *Finch*, and *Newton*; with the captains *Stopford*, *Smith*, *Downs*, *Delves*, *Griffith*, *Portington*, *Alcock*, *Powel*, *Grahtham*, *Scolfax*, and *Corbet*.

His lordship was allowed neither counsel nor books in court for his assistance: therefore he addressed the president in manner following:

"Sir,—I understand myself to be convened before you, as well by a commission from your general, as by an act of parliament of the twelfth of August last.—To the articles exhibited against me, I have given a full and ingenuous answer.—What may present itself for my advantage, I have gained liberty to offer and urge by advice: and I doubt not, but in a matter of law, the court will be to me, instead of counsel in court."

"Sir,—First I shall observe to you, the nature and general order of a *court-martial*, and the laws and actions of it, as far as concerns my case; and then shall apply my plea to such orders.—Therefore I conceive, that the laws of *courts-martial* are as the laws of *nature* and *nations*, equally binding all persons military, and to be inviolably observed.—So it is that if a judgment be given in one *court-martial*, there is no appeal; of which law *martial*, the civil law gives a plentiful account. But because it is one single point of *martial law*, which I am to insist upon for my life, I shall name it, and debate the just right of it; as *quarter for life* given by captain *Edge*; which I conceive to be a good bar to a *trial for life*, by a *council of war*.—That you are a *council of war*, will be admitted; and being so, that you must judge and proceed according to the law of *war*, and no otherwise, cannot be denied.—That quarter was given me, if scrupled, I am ready to prove; and that it is pleadable, is above dispute.—I shall only remove one objection; which is, that although this be a *court-martial*, yet the special nature of it is directed by *parliament*.—To this I answer: though the *parliament* directed the *trial* as it is, yet it is to be considered as a *court-martial*, which cannot divest itself, nor is divested of its own nature, by any such direction. For to appoint a *court-martial*, to proceed by any other laws than a *court-martial* can, is a repugnancy in the nature of things. Therefore as such a *court-martial* retains its own proper laws and jurisdiction for the support of itself; so the *pleas* and *liberties* incident to it cannot be denied the prisoner.—That quarter, and such quarter as I had given to me, is a good *plea* for life to a *council of war*, I shall not endeavour so much to evince by authors, that being the proper work of the learned in the *civil law*; but by such way as that which we call the right of mankind,

is proved by common practice and strong reasons.—For the first; I shall not need to bring foreign instances; being before you, whose experience hath made this practice familiar to you. And, I believe, ye will agree with me, that I am not only the first *peer*, but the first *man*, tried by a *court martial* after *quarter* given; unless upon some posterior fact.—It is a rule in *war*, that *quarter* hath as much force, when given in action, as articles in a cessation; both irreversible by military power. And though it be a maxim in politics, that no concession of any general or soldier shall prejudice the state interest; yet they must be bars to their power.—I confess, I love the law of *peace* more than that of *war*: and I would only know whether *quarter* was given me for a benefit, or for a mischief: if for a benefit, I am now to have it made good: if for a mischief, it destroys the faith of all men in arms: and I have read this for a maxim in war, that promises made by *kings* and state *commanders*, ought to be inviolably observed.—The profession of a *soldier* hath danger enough in it; and he need not to add anything to it, to destroy the right of arms.—I am before ye, as a *court-martial*. It may be some of ye have received *quarter* for your lives: then, would it not be *hard measure*, that any *court-martial* should try ye afterwards.—If this quarter be foiled, all the treaties, articles, terms, or conclusions, since the *war* began, may be examinable by any subsequent *court-martial*.—As to levying forces in the ISLE OF MAN, and invading *England*, I might truly be a stranger to all the acts for treason, and particularly to the acts of the twelfth of August: and that the ISLE OF MAN is not particularly named in any of the acts touching *treason*; and being not particularly named, those acts reach it not; nor bind those of that ISLAND: especially, as I was not in that *Ireland*, when the last act was made.”—His lordship further said: “I do, as to your military power, earnestly plead quarter, as a bar to your further trial of me; and doubt not but you will deeply weigh a point so considerable both to your consciences and concerns, before ye proceed to sentence, and admit my appeal in this point.”

The sequestrators over-ruled the court against his lordship, whose crimes were summed up in the following articles; “that he had traiterously borne arms for *Charles Stuart* against the *parliament*: that he was guilty of a breach of an act of parliament of the 12th of August, 1651, which prohibited all commerce with *Charles Stuart*, or any of his party: that he had fortified his house at *Latham* against the parliament: and that he then held the ISLE OF MAN against them.”

Therefore, they gave sentence of death against him, and appointed his execution to be at *Bolton*, within four days, that his LORDSHIP might not have time to *appeal* to PARLIAMENT. Lord *Strange* made incredible speed to London, and returned in time to acquaint his father that *Cromwell* and *Bradshaw* were determined to take away his life.

The *Earl of DERBY* tenderly embraced his son, called for his favourite attendants, and prepared for death with great resignation and amazing fortitude. He discoursed with the reverend Mr. *Humphrey Baggerley* concerning the ISLE OF MAN, and the surrender of it by his lady, whose virtues he highly commended, and expressed the greatest affection for her children. The discourse was suddenly interrupted by lieutenant *Smith*, who told his lordship it would be well if he would appoint his own executioner: to which his lordship answered, “Nay, sir, if those men who will have my head, will not find one to cut it off, let it stand where it is.”

His lordship then wrote his last letter to his lady; as also that to his children, in the ISLE OF MAN.

Mr. *Baggerley's* narrative of this melancholy affair is very affecting, but too long to be here given entire. His lordship delivered his letter for the ISLAND to that reverend gentleman, to whom he said, “deliver these, with my most tender affection

to my wife and children : the great God of Heaven direct you, and comfort them, in this their day of deep affliction and distress."

His lordship took leave of Sir *Timothy Featherstone*, and some other gentlemen, under the same calamitous circumstances, who *kissed his hand**, and wept at taking leave. The *Earl of DERBY* said, "Gentlemen, God bless and keep ye : I hope now, my blood will satisfy for all that were with me ; and that ye will soon be at liberty : but, if the cruelty of these men will not end there, be of good comfort ; for ye shall hear that I die like a *christian*, a *man*, a *soldier*, and an obedient *subject* to the most just and virtuous of princes."

The *Earl of DERBY*, on the road, met with his two daughters, the ladies *Catherine* and *Amelia*, of whom he took a most affectionate leave, and arrived that night at *Leigh* near *Winwick*. His lordship desired Mr. *Baggerley*, "when he should come at the *ISLE OF MAN*, to commend him to the *arch-deacon* there, and tell him he well remembered the several discourses that passed between them concerning death, and the manner of it : that he had often said the thoughts of death could not trouble him in fight, or with a sword in his hand : but that he feared it would somewhat startle him, tamely to submit to a blow upon the scaffold ; yet tell the *arch-deacon* that I find in myself an absolute change as to that opinion ; and I bless my *God* for it who hath put these comforts and this courage into my soul."

His lordship passed that night upon his bed, from between ten and eleven until six the next morning ; when he arose and called for lord *Strange* to put on his order of the garter ; after which the *EARL* told his son, "I will send you this by *Baggerley*, and pray return it to my gracious *sovereign* when you shall be so happy as to see him ; and say, I sent it in all humility and gratitude, as I received it, spotless and free from any stain, according to the honourable example of my loyal ancestors."

When they were ready to go, his lordship drank a cup of beer to his lady, his children, Mr. *Arch-deacon*, and all his friends in the *ISLE OF MAN* ; and charged his chaplain to remember him to them all. Under pretence that the people might rescue him, he was not permitted to ride that day upon his own horse, but was set on a little galloway.

About noon, on the 15th October, 1651, the *Earl of DERBY* came to *Bolton*, guarded by two troops of horse, and one company of foot ; the people every where praying and weeping as he went, even from his prison at *Chester* to his scaffold at *Bolton*, which was not then finished ; for the people of the town refused to give the least assistance ; many of them saying, "that since the war begun they had suffered great losses, but none so great as this : it was the greatest that ever befel them, that the *Earl of DERBY*, their lord and patron, should lose his life there, and in such a barbarous way."

His lordship was conducted to a house near the cross, and was allowed until three o'clock to prepare himself for execution. He prayed some time with his friends and servants ; gave some paternal instructions to his son Lord *Strange* ; then desired to be private ; and soon recalled his friends. After taking an affectionate leave of his son, he called for an officer, and told him he was ready. His lordship was then led to the scaffold, which he sedately ascended, among the prayers and lamentations of the people, whom he thanked for their concern and desired them to pray for him to the last.

His lordship walked awhile upon the scaffold, then settled himself at the east end of it, and made a pathetic address to the spectators, to the following purport : "That he was come, and was content to die in that town : That he loved mon-

* As *King of Man*.

archy, and his master *Charles II.*, whom he had proclaimed in that country to be king. *That* he confessed, he always fought for peace, and he had no other reason; for he wanted neither estate nor honour; nor did he seek to enlarge either at the expence of others lives and fortunes, or the invasion of the king's rights and prerogatives. *That* his predecessors were for their duty, loyalty, and good services, raised to a high condition of honour and fortune, as was well known to that country; and it was as well known that he was condemned to die by his majesty's enemies, by new and unknown laws. *That* truly he died for God, the king, and the laws; which made him not ashamed of his life, nor afraid at his death."

At which words—"king and LAWS," a trooper said, "We have no king, and we will have no LORDS." His lordship was then interrupted by the soldiers, some of whom cut and wounded several people with their swords. When his lordship perceived he was not permitted to speak freely, he turned to his servant, and gave him his papers, commanding him to let the world know what he had to say, had he not been interrupted and disturbed; which was in the following words, written with his lordship's own hand:

"My sentence, upon which I was brought hither, was by a *council of war*, which council I had reason to expect would have justified my *plea of quarter for life*, that being an ancient and an honourable *plea* among soldiers, and not violated, that I know of, till this time; for I am made the first precedent in this case, and I wish that no others suffer in the like manner. Now I must die, and am ready to die, I thank GOD, with a good conscience, without malice to any; though others would not find mercy for me upon just and fair grounds: but I forgive them, following the example of my SAVIOUR, who prayed for his enemies; and so do I pray for mine. As for my *faith and religion*, thus much I would have to say at this time: I profess my *faith* to be in *one only* GOD, and in JESUS CHRIST *his only son*, who died for me and all mankind, and from whom I look for my salvation—that is, in and through his only merits and suffering; and I do die a *dutiful son of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND* as it was established in my late master's reign; and as it is yet professed in the ISLE OF MAN, which is no small comfort to me. I thank my GOD for the quiet of my conscience at this time, and for the assurance of those joys which he hath promised, and are prepared for all those that love, adore, and fear him. Good people, pray for me: I do for you: the GOD of Heaven bless you all, and send you peace and prosperity; that God, who is truth itself, bless you with peace and truth. *Amen.*"

His lordship then gave directions to the executioner, who performed his office at one blow. When the body of this illustrious nobleman was laid in his coffin, the following lines, were thrown into it, by an unknown hand:—

"*Wit, bounty, courage*, all three here lie dead,
A STANLEY'S hand, Vere's heart, and Cecil's head."

The next day his remains was carried from *Bolton* to *Ormskirk*, and there deposited with those of his noble ancestors.

An elegy of considerable length, entitled, "*To the glorious memory of that blessed Martyr, James Earl of Derby*," was written on the death of his lordship, by the Reverend Samuel Rutter, who was then Archdeacon, and afterwards Bishop of Man, but its merit is not such as to warrant its insertion here.—Extracted from the Journal of the Reverend H. Baggerley, his lordship's chaplain who attended him to the scaffold; *ap. Seacome's History of the House of Stanley; Rolit, &c.*

NOTE II.—PAGE 211.

DYING SPEECH OF WILLIAM CHRISTIAN, WHO WAS EXECUTED
2ND JANUARY, 1663.

“Gentlemen, and the rest of you who have accompanied me this day to the gate of death, I know you expect that I should say something at my departure; and, indeed, I am in some measure willing to satisfy you, having not had the least liberty since my imprisonment, to acquaint any with the sadness of my sufferings, which flesh and blood could not have endured without the power and assistance of my most gracious and good God, into whose hands I do now commit my poor soul, not doubting but that I shall very quickly be in the arms of his mercy.

“I am, as you now see, hurried hither by the power of a pretended court of justice, the members whereof, or at least the greater part of them, are by no means qualified, but very ill befitting their new places. The reasons you may give yourselves.

“The cause for which I am brought hither, as the prompted and threatened jury has delivered, is high treason against the Countess Dowager of Derby: for that I did, as they say, in the year fifty-one, raise a force, against her, for the suppressing and rooting out that family. How unjust the accusation is, very few of you that hear me this day but can witness; and that the then rising of the people, in which afterwards I came to be engaged, did not at all, or in the least degree, intend the prejudice or ruin of that family, the chief whereof being, as you well remember, dead eight days, or thereabout, before that action happened. But the true cause of that rising, as the jury did twice bring in, was to present grievances to our honourable lady, which was done by me, and afterwards approved of by her ladyship, under the hand of her then secretary, M. Trevach, who is yet living, which agreement has since, to my own ruin, and my poor family's endless sorrow, been forced from me. The Lord God forgive them the unjustness of their dealings with me, and I wish from my heart it may not be laid to their charge another day.

“You now see me here a sacrifice ready to be offered up for that which was the preservation of your lives and fortunes which were then in hazard, but that I stood between you and your (then in all appearance) utter ruin. I wish you still may, as hitherto, enjoy the sweet benefit and blessing of peace, though, from that minute until now, I have still been prosecuted and persecuted, nor have I ever since found a place to rest myself in; but my God be for ever blessed and praised who hath given me so large a measure of patience!

“What services I have done for that noble family, by whose power I am now to take my latest breath, I dare appeal to themselves whether I have not deserved better things from them, than the sentence of my bodily destruction, and seizure of the poor estate my son ought to enjoy, being purchased and left him by his grandfather. It might have been much better had I not spent it in the service of my honourable Lord of Derby and his family: these things I need not mention to you, for that most of you are witnesses to it. I shall now, beg your patience while I tell you here, in the presence of God, that I never, in all my life, acted anything with intention to prejudice my sovereign lord the king, nor the late Earl of Derby, nor the now Earl; yet notwithstanding being in England at the time of his sacred majesty's happy restoration, I went to London with many others to have a sight of my gracious king, whom God preserve, and whom, until then, I never had seen. But I was not long there when I was arrested upon an action of twenty thousand pounds, and clapped

up into the Fleet; unto which action, I, being a stranger, could give no bail, but was there kept nearly a whole year. How I suffered, God, he knows; but at last, having gained my liberty, I thought good to advise with several gentlemen concerning his majesty's gracious act of indemnity that was then set forth, in which I thought myself concerned; unto which they told me there was no doubt to be made but that all actions committed in the Isle of Man relating in any kind to the war, were pardoned by the act of indemnity, and all other places within his majesty's dominions and countries. Whereupon, and having been forced to absent myself from my poor wife and children near three years—being all that time under persecution, I did with great content and satisfaction return into this Island, hoping then to receive the comfort and sweet enjoyment of my friends and poor family. But alas! I have fallen into the snare of the fowler; but my God shall ever be praised—though he kill me, yet will I trust in him.

I may justly say no man in this Island knows better than myself the power the Lord Derby hath in this Island—subordinate to his sacred majesty—of which I have given a full account in my declaration presented to my judges, which I much fear will never see light, which is no small trouble to me.

It was his majesty's most gracious act of indemnity gave me the confidence and assurance of my safety, on which an appeal I made to his sacred majesty and privy council from the unjustness of the proceedings had against me, I did much rely—being his majesty's subject here—and a denizen of England both by birth and fortune. And in regard I have disobeyed the power of my Lord of Derby's act of indemnity, which you now look upon—and his majesty's act cast out as being of no force—I have with greater violence been persecuted; yet, nevertheless, I do declare that no subject whatever can or ought to take upon them acts of indemnity, but his sacred majesty only—with the conformation of parliament.

"It is very fit I should say something as to my education and religion: I think I need not inform you, for you all know, I was brought up a son of the Church of England, which was at that time in her splendour and glory; and, to my endless comfort, I have ever since continued a faithful member—witness several of my actions in the late times of liberty. And as for government, I never was against monarchy, which now, to my soul's great satisfaction, I have lived to see settled and established. I am well assured that men of upright life and conversation may have the favourable countenance of our gracious king, under whose happy government, God, of his infinite mercy, long continue these his kingdoms and dominions. And now I do most heartily thank my good God that I have had so much liberty and time to disburden myself of several things that have laid heavy upon me all the time of my imprisonment, in which I have not had time or liberty to speak or write any of my thoughts. And, from my soul, I wish all animosity may, after my death, be quite laid aside, and my death by none be called in question, for I do freely forgive all that have had any hand in my persecution. And may our good God preserve you all in peace and quiet the remainder of your days.

"Be ye all of you, his majesty's liege people, loyal and faithful to his sacred majesty; and according to your oath of faith and fealty to my honourable Lord of Derby; do you likewise, in all just and lawful ways, observe his commands; and know that you must one day give an account of all your deeds; and now the blessing of almighty God be with you all, and preserve you from violent death, and keep you in peace of conscience all your days.

"I will now hasten, for my flesh is willing to be dissolved, and my spirit to be with God who hath given me full assurance of his mercy, and pardon for all my sins, of which his unspeakable goodness, and loving kindness my poor soul is exceedingly satisfied."

Here he fell upon his knees and passed some time in prayer, then rising exceedingly cheerful, he addressed the soldiers appointed for his execution, saying, "Now, for you who are appointed by lot my executioners, I do freely forgive you." He requested them and all present to pray for him, adding, "There is but a thin veil betwixt me and death: once more I request your prayers, for now I take my last farewell."

NOTE III.—PAGE 212.

ORDER OF THE KING IN COUNCIL.

No. 1.

At the Court at Whitehall, the 5th August, 1663.

GEORGE CHRISTIAN, son and heir of William Christian, deceased, having exhibited his complaint to his Majesty in Council, that his father, being at a house of his in his Majesty's Isle of Mann, was imprisoned by certain persons in that Island, pretending themselves to be a Court of Justice; that he was by them accused of high treason, pretended to be committed against the Countess Dowager of Derby, in the year 1651; and that they thereupon proceeded to judgement, and caused him to be put to death, notwithstanding the Act of General Pardon and Indemnity, whereof he claimed the benefit; and his appeal to his Majesty, and humbly imploring his Majesty's princely compassion towards the distressed widow and seven fatherless children of the deceased: His Majesty was graciously pleased, with the advice of his Council, to order that Thomas Noris and Hugh Cannell, the two judges, (by them in that Island called deemsters,) and Richard Stevenson, Robert Calcot, and Richard Tyledesley, three of the members of the pretended Court of Justice, and Henry Howell, deputy of the said Island, should be forthwith sent for, and brought up by a sergeant-at-arms here, before his Majesty in Council, to appear and answer to such accusations as should be exhibited against them. Which six persons being accordingly brought hither the fifteenth day of July last appointed for a full hearing of the whole business, the Earl of Derby then also summoned to appear, and the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Lord Chief Baron of his Majesty's Exchequer, with the King's Council, learned in the laws, required to be present, and all the parties called in with their council and witnesses, after full hearing of the matter on both sides; and the parties withdrawn, the said judges being desired to deliver their opinion, did, in presence of the King's Council, learned in the laws, declare that the Act of General Pardon and Indemnity did, and ought to be understood to, extend to the Isle of Mann, as well as into any other of his Majesty's dominions and plantations beyond the seas; and that, being a publique General Act of Parliament, it ought to have been taken notice of by the Judges in the Isle of Mann, although it had not been pleaded, and although there were no proclamations made thereof.—His Majesty being therefore deeply sensible of this violation of his Act of General Pardon, whereof his Majesty hath always been very tender, and doth expect and require that all his subjects in all his dominions and plantations shall enjoy the full benefit and advantage of the same. And having this day taken the business into

further consideration, and all parties called in and heard, did, by and with the advice of the Council, order, and it is hereby ordered, that all persons any way concerned in the seizure of the estate of the said William Christian, deceased, or instrumental in the ejection of the widow and children out of their houses and fortune, do take care that entire restitution is to be made of all the said estate, as well real or personal, as also all damages sustained, with full satisfaction for all profits by them received since the said estate hath been in their hands; and that, whereas the said William Christian, deceased, was one of the two lives remaining in an estate in Lancashire, that the detriment accruing by the untimely death of the said William Christian, therein, or in like cases, shall be estimated, and in like manner fully repaired. That in regard of the great trouble and charges the complainants have been at in pursuit of this business, ordered, that they do exhibit to this Board a true account, upon oath, of all expences and damages by them sustained in the journies of themselves and witnesses, and of all other their charges in the following of this business.

And whereas Ewan Curghey, Sammual Radcliffe, and John Casar, were by the same Court of Justice imprisoned, and had their estates seized and confiscated, without any legal trial, it is ordered, that the said Ewan Curghey, Sammual Radcliffe, and John Casar, be likewise reinstated to all their estates, real and personal, and fully repaired in all the charges and expences which they have been at since their first imprisonment, as well in the prosecution of this business, as in their journey thither, or any other way whatsoever thereunto relating. The which satisfaction, expences, and all the sums of money to be raised by virtue of this order, are to be furnished by the Deemsters, Members, and Assistants of the said Court of Justice, who are hereby ordered to raise all such the said sums, and thereof to make due payment, and give full satisfaction unto the parties respectively hereby appointed to receive it.

And to the end, the guilt of blood which hath been unjustly spilt, may in some sort be expiated, and his Majesty receive some kind of satisfaction for the untimely loss of a subject, it is ordered that the said Thomas Norris and Hugh Cannell, who decreed this violent death, be committed, and remain prisoners in the King's Bench, to be proceeded against in the ordinary course of justice, so to receive condign punishment according to the merit of so heinous an act.

That Richard Stevenson, Robert Calcot, and Richard Tyldeslay, be discharged from farther restraint, giving good security to appear at this Board whensoever summoned, and not depart this city until full satisfaction be given, and all orders of this Board whatsoever relating to this business fully executed in the Island. And in regard, that upon the examination of this business, it doth appear, that Edward Christian, being one of the Deemsters or Judges in the Isle of Man, did, when the Court refused to admit of the deceased William Christian's plea of the Act of Indemnity, make his protestation against their illegal proceedings, and did withdraw himself, and come into England to solicit his Majesty, and implore his justice, it is ordered, that the Earl of Derby do forthwith, by commission, in due and accustomed manner, restore, constitute and appoint the said Edward Christian, one of the Deemsters or Judges of the said Island so to remain and continue in the due execution of the said place.

And lastly, it is ordered that the said Henry Howell, Deputy-Governor, whose charge hath been the not complying with, and yielding due obedience to, the orders of his Majesty, and this Board sent into this Island, giving good security to appear at this Board whensoever summoned, be forthwith discharged from all further restraint, and permitted to return into the Island; and he is hereby strictly commanded to employ the power and authority he hath, which by virtue of his commission he

hath in that Island, in performance of, and obedience to, all commands and orders of his Majesty and this Board in this whole business, or any way relating thereunto.

(Signed by)

Lord Chancellor.
Lord Treasurer.
Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Albemarle.
Lord Chamberlain.
Earl of Berkshire.
Earl of St. Alban.
Earl of Anglesey.
Earl of Sandwich.
Earl of Bath.
Earl of Middleton.

Earl of Carberry.
Lord Bishop of London.
Lord Wentworth.
Lord Berkeley.
Lord Ashley.
Sir William Crompton.
Mr. Treasurer.
Mr. Vice Chamberlain.
Mr. Secretary Morice.
Mr. Secretary Bennett.

Richard Browne,
Clerk of the Council.

ORDER OF THE KING IN COUNCIL.

No. 2.

At the Court at Whitehall, August 14th, 1663.

Present,

The King's most Excellent Majesty.

Lord Chancellor.
Lord Treasurer.
Lord Privy Seal.
Duke of Buckingham.
Duke of Albemarle.
Lord Chamberlain.
Earl of Berkshire.
Earl of St. Alban.
Earl of Sandwich.
Earl of Anglesey.
Earl of Bath.

Earl of Middleton.
Earl of Carberry.
Lord Bishop of London.
Lord Wentworth.
Lord Berkeley.
Lord Ashley.
Sir William Crompton.
Mr. Treasurer.
Mr. Vice Chamberlain.
Mr. Secretary Morice.
Mr. Secretary Bennett.

To the end that the world may the better take notice of his Majesty's royal intention, to observe the Act of Indemnity and General Pardon inviolably for the publique good and satisfaction of his subjects—it was this day ordered, that a copy of the order of this Board of the 5th inst., touching the illegal proceedings in the Isle of Mann, against William Christian, and putting him to death contrary to the said Act of General Pardon, be sent unto his Majesty's printer, who is commanded forthwith to print the same in English letters, in folio, in such manner as Acts of Parliament are usually printed, and his Majesty's Arms prefixed.

Richard Browne.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 216.

ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

ANNO 1703.

An Act for the perfect Settling and Confirmation of the Estates, Tenures, Fines, Rents, Suites, and Services of the Tennants of the Right Honourable James Earl of Derby, within his Isle of Man, passed at a Tynwald Court, holden at St. John's Chappel, within the said Isle, the 4th Day of February, in the Year of our Lord 1703, by the said James Earl of Derby, Lord of the said Isle, Robert Mawdesley, Esquire, Governor, and the rest of his said Lordship's Officers, and 24 Keyes, the Representatives of the said Isle.

Whereas severall Disputes, Questions, and Differences have heretofore arisen and been contested between the Lords of the said Isle and their Tennants, touching their Estates, Tenures, Fines, Rents, Suites, and Services, to the great Prejudice of the Lords, and Impoverishment of the Tennants and People there, who by that Means have been discouraged from making such Improvements as their Estates were and are capable of; for the absolute and perpetual ascertaining whereof, and the avoiding all Ambiguities, Doubts, and Questions, that may or might at any Time hereafter arise or grow touching or concerning the same, Proposals were made unto the said James Earl of Derby, now Lord of the said Isle, at Lathome, the 8th Day of September last past, by Ewan Christian of Unerigg, in the County of Cumberland, Esquire, John Stevenson of Balladoole, and Ewan Christian of Lewaige within the said Isle, Gentlemen, who, by an Instrument under the Hands of the 24 Keyes now remaining upon Record, were impowered to treat concerning the same, as well for and on the Behalf of themselves as all and every the Tennants within the said Isle, in Manner following :

First,—That in case his Lordship would be pleased to declare and confirm unto his Tennants their antient customary Estates of Inheritance in their respective Tenements, descendable from Ancestor to Heir, according to the Laws and Customes of the said Isle; that then the said Tennants should, in consideration thereof, advance and pay unto his said Lordship the same Fines which they severally and respectively paid for their severall and respective Tenements at the Generall Fining, which was in or about the Year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and forty three; (except where any Tennant or Tennants have or hath one or more Life or Lives in being, and that then and in such Case, he or they should severally and respectively pay Two-thirds only of the said generall Fine for their respective Tenements.

Secondly,—That upon the change of any Tennant by Death or Alienation, the next and succeeding Heir or Alienee should pay unto the Lord of the said Isle, for the Time being, the third Part of the said intire Sum which was paid for a Fine at the said Generall Fining, in manner following : that is to say, in case of the change of a Tennant by Death, then the said Fine should be paid within twelve Months after the Death of such Tennant; and in case of the change or removal of a Tennant by Alienation, then the same should be paid immediately after such Alienation, made proportionably to the Lands and Tenements which should descend or be aliened, and this to continue for ever hereafter as a fixed and certain Fine upon every Descent and Alienation; provided, nevertheless, that all Intacks, Cottages, and Milnes, which

by the Laws and Customes of the said Isle were and are reputed Chattles, might be chargeable with Debts, and devisable by Gift, Grant, Will, or Assignment, as formerly accustomed, paying such Fines respectively as were paid at the Generall Fineing aforesaid, to wit, the whole Fine where there were no Lives in being, and two Parts thereof only where there were, and still are one or two Lives in being, and a third Part of the said Generall Fine for ever hereafter upon every Descent or Alienation as aforesaid.

Thirdly,—That the Tennants of the Abbey Lands, as well as the Lord's Tennants, should be included in the said Proposals, they and every one of them paying the same Fines that were agreed for upon their late Compositions or Leases made in or about the Year of our Lord one thousand six hundred sixty and six, (except such as have one or more Life or Lives yet in being to pay two Parts only of the said Fine now, and a third Part thereof always afterwards, upon the Admittance of any new Tennant, either upon Death or Alienation, as aforesaid :) and also yielding, paying, performing, and doing the annuall Rents, Customes, Suites, and Services as formerly and anciently accustomed: And that the Tythes arising out of the Abbey Demeasnes, and reserved by James late Earl of Derby upon the Compositions by him made in the Year one thousand six hundred fourty and three, and afterwards by Charles late Earl of Derby, granted to Bishop Barrow (since deceased) and his Successors for the Use of the Clergy of the said Isle, should be reserved and for ever hereafter payable to them.

Fourthly,—That the double Rents of the Quarterlands as they were then payable, together with all other Rents, Suites, and Services, payable out of those, or any other Estates within the said Isle, should be reserved and payable for ever hereafter as formerly to the said James Earl of Derby, his Heirs and Assignes, or to such other Person or Persons as for the Time being should be Lord of the said Isle; and that the antient Boons and Carriages payable by the respective Tennants should be considered at a Tynwald Court.

Fifthly,—That if any Tennant should then after pass away any part of his Estate, either to any of his Children, or other Person whatsoever, by Gift, Grant, Assignment, or any other Deed or Contract whatsoever, whereby to divest himself of the Premises, that the same should be esteemed and accounted as an Alienation within the Intendment of the said Proposals; or if any Tennant who then had mortgaged, or should thenceafter mortgage, all or any part of his Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Milns, Cottages, Intacks, or other Hereditaments, unto any Person, and should not actually redeem the same to his own proper Use within the Space of five Years next after the Commencement of the said Mortgage, that then such Mortgage should be likewise looked upon and reputed as an Alienation, and the Mortgagee should be admitted Tennant, and his name entered into the Court Rolls, and should pay the third Part of the general Fine charged and chargeable upon the said Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Milns, Cottages, Intacks, and Hereditaments, so mortgaged or to be mortgaged as aforesaid: Provided nevertheless, that the Mortgagor shall have the Power or Liberty of Redemption still remaining in him, and is to be restored to the Possession of the Premises by Law or Order of the Court of Chancery as the matter will appear in Equity, so that the same be done within the Space of one-and-twenty Years from the Date of the said Mortgage, and not otherwise: And that all Bills of Mortgage already made, or hereafter to be made, shall be entered into the Records within six Months after the passing of the said Proposals into a Law, or within six Months next after such Bills of Mortgage were executed, otherwise such Bills to be of no Effect in the Law.

Sixthly,—That all new Intacks or Inclosures taken out of the Commons, and all

Milns erected since the Year one thousand six hundred fourty and three, that had not paid any Fines, should have a reasonable Fine set upon them by the Governor, three of the Lord's Officers, and three of the twenty-four Keyes, to be appointed for that Purpose; and that the Fines so set by them should be paid within six Months next after the setting thereof; and that the third Part of the said Fine so to be set as aforesaid should for ever hereafter be paid upon the Change of every Tennant by Death, Alienation, or Mortgage as aforesaid.

Seventhly,—That all Intacks or Milns which should then after be enclosed or erected should pay such Fine and Fines as should be agreed on by the Governor and Lord's Officers, and that to be likewise a fixed and certain Fine to be for ever hereafter paid by the Tennants of the same upon every Descent or Alienation in Manner as aforesaid.

Eighthly,—And that all such Intacks and Cottages as had been taken out of the Highways adjoining to the Quarterlands, or other Estates, but not belonging to the same, should not, nor were not, intended to be included in the said Proposals; but that such Intacks and Cottages (being complained of as great Nuisances) should be referred to the consideration of a Tynwald Court to determine where the Rents and Fines of and for such Intacks and Cottages might most conveniently be fixed.

Ninthly,—That whereas the Fine lately paid out of the Estate called Loughmollo and dry Closes was not compromised in the Generall Fineing in the said Year one thousand six hundred fourty and three, the same being since that Time leased by the Right Honourable Charles late Earl of Derby; it was therefore (upon special consideration had) proposed, that the said Estate should only pay one hundred and twenty Pounds for the present Fine; but if any of the Lives nominated in the last Lease made thereof by the said late Earl Charles should be found to be still in being, then only two third Parts of the said one hundred and twenty Pounds should be paid as a present Fine, and a third Part of the said one hundred and twenty Pounds should for ever after be paid as a fixed and certain Fine upon the Change of any Tennant by Death, Alienation, or Mortgage as aforesaid.

Tenthly,—That the present Fines should be accepted and received according to the Currency of Money then within the said Isle, and that one third Part thereof should be paid within six Months next after the passing of this Act, another third Part should be paid at the end of twelve Months now next ensuing, and the last Payment to be made within six Months then next following; so that the whole should be paid within eighteen Months next after the passing of this Act.

Eleventhly,—That the antient Rents (except only of such Lands as were then in the Lord's Hands) should for the future be preserved by the Setting Quest, and that the Tennants' Names should be entered in the Court Rolls as formerly; and that when any Tennant should come to any Estate by Death, Alienation, or Mortgage, such Tennant should be obliged to give Notice thereof to the Setting Quest of the Parish where such Estate lay some Time before the next Sheading Court that should be holden after he became Tennant to the said Estate, to the Intent that the said Enquest might present the said Tennant's Name to the Court, (which they should upon Oath be obliged to do at every Sheading Court as oft as any such should happen,) to the End that such Tennant's Name might be entered upon Record either by himself, or some other Person in his behalf, whereby the Lord's Fines might be had and received at such Time, and in such Manner as are hereinbefore for that purpose limited and appointed, without Fraud or Concealment; and if the said Tennant should refuse or fail to have his Name entered accordingly at the said Court, that then such Tennant so refusing or neglecting should be fined in three Pounds to the Lord for the Time being; and that upon the Change of any Tennant by Death,

Alienation, or Mortgage, one single Person, and no more, should be admitted, unless he became Tenant in the Right of his Wife, and not otherwise.

And lastly,—That all the before-mentioned Proposals, and every Matter and Thing therein contained, should forthwith be passed into a Law, and confirmed by the Authority of a Tynwald Court, (saving always to the Lord all such Royalties and Regalities in and concerning the Premises as were invested by his Lordship by virtue of his Prerogatives within the said Isle ;) and the said James Earl of Derby, out of his great Zeal and Care for the Welfare and Quiet of his People, and to the End that such an Establishment might be treated and agreed upon as might compleat and for ever confirm a constant mutual Love and Friendship between the Lords of the said Isle and their People, did nominate and appoint the aforementioned Robert Mawdesley, Thomas, Lord Bishop of Sodor and Mann, and Nicholas Starkie, Esquire, Commissioners, to treat and consult with the said Ewan Christian, John Stevenson, and Ewan Christian of Lewaige, concerning the said Proposals, which were consented and agreed unto by all Partys commissioned for that purpose, as in and by the said Proposals, inrolled and remaining on Record in the Comptroller's Office within the said Isle, more at large it doth and may appear : And the said Right Honourable James Earl of Derby, and all and singular the Tenants and Inhabitants within the said Isle, and Members of the same, are contented and well pleased that the said Proposals, and all Things therein contained, should be ratified and confirmed by an Act of Tynwald Court : May it therefore please your Lordship that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the said James Earl of Derby, now Lord of the said Isle, (by and with the Advice and Consent of the said Governor, and the rest of his said Lordship's Officers, and by the twenty-four Keyes, in this present Tynwald Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same,) That the said Proposals, and every Clause, Article, Sentence, Matter, and Thing in the same contained, shall stand and be ratified, allowed, approved off, and confirmed by the Authority of this present Tynwald Court ; and that the said Proposals shall stand and be of force to bind and conclude as well the said James Earl of Derby, his Heirs and Assigns, and all Persons claiming, or to claime, from, by, or under him or them, or to his Use or in Trust for him, as the said Ewan Christian, John Stevenson, and Ewan Christian of Lewaige, and all and singular other the Tenants and Inhabitants within the said Isle, their and every of their Heirs and Assigns, and all Persons claiming, or to claime, from, by, or under them, or any of them, or to or for their Use, or in Trust for them, or any of them, in all Things, according to the Purport, Effect, and true Meaning of the said Proposals ; and that every Clause, Article, Sentence, Matter, and Thing in the said Proposals contained, shall for ever hereafter stand, be, and remain, and be adjudged and taken to be of such and the same Force and Effect to all Intents and Purposes as if the said Proposals, and every Clause, Article, Sentence, Matter, and Thing therein contained, were especially and particularly herein again expressed and repeated, and by the Authority of this present Court enacted. And be it further enacted, ordained, and declared by the Authority aforesaid, That all Estates made or to be made of any Messuages, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments within the said Isle, or Members of the same, to any Person or Persons, and his and their Heirs, shall be, and shall be adjudged, esteemed, and taken, from the making or granting of such Estates, to be good and perfect customary Estates of Inheritance, descendable from Ancestor to Heir according to the Laws and Customs of the said Isle, (except such as are reputed Chattles as is before mentioned ;) and that all and every such Person and Persons to whom any such customary Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments are or shall be granted to him and his Heirs according to the Laws and Customs of the said Isle, shall be, and shall be adjudged, esteemed,

and taken, and are hereby declared to be seized thereof as of good and perfect customary Estates of Inheritance to them and their Heirs, descendable from Ancestor to Heir according to the Customes of the said Isle.

And that all and every the said Tennants of and within the said Isle, and Members of the same, as well all Tennants in Possession as in Reversion and Remainder, particularly or generally named, mentioned, or intended to be Partys to the said Proposals, and not thereby excluded, their and every of their respective Heirs and Assigns, shall and may from henceforth for ever quietly and peaceably have, hold, and enjoy all their severall and respective Messuages, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, with their and every of their Appurtenances, to them and their Heirs severally and respectively, as customary Tennants of and within the said Isle, against the said James Earl of Derby, his Heirs and Assignes, and against all and every other Person or Persons claiming, or to claime, from, by, or under him, them, or any of them, 'all and singular the Tennants within the said Isle, and Members of the same, their Heirs and Assignes, and all and every other Person and Persons claiming, or to claime, from, by, or under them, or any of them, respectively and severally yielding, paying, performing, and doing unto the said James Earl of Derby, his Heirs and Assignes, and all and every other the Lords of the said Isle for the Time being, such yearly Rents, Boons, Suites, and Services, as herein-before are mentioned, and which now are or heretofore have been usually paid and performed; and also paying unto the said James Earl of Derby, his Heirs and Assignes, such generall and other Fines certaine, as in the said Proposals are also for that Purpose particularly mentioned and expressed, (saving always unto the said James Earl of Derby, his Heirs and Assigns, and unto all and every other Person and Persons that shall at any Time hereafter become Lords of the said Isle, all such Royalties, Regalia, Prerogatives, Homages, Fealties, Escheats, Forfeitures, Seizures, Mines and Mineralls of what Kind or Nature soever, Quarrys and Delfs of Flagg, Slate or Stone, Franchises, Libertys, Priviledges, and Jurisdictions whatsoever, as now are or at any Time heretofore have been invested in the said James Earl of Derby, or in any of his Ancestors Lords of the said Isle; and saving nevertheless to all and every Person and Persons, Bodys Politick and Corporate, their Heirs and Successors, (other than the said James Earl of Derby, his Heirs and Assignes,) all such Actions, Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Use, Trust, Claime, and Demand whatsoever, in Law or Equity, as they or any of them have, may, should, or ought to have, of, in, to, or out of the said Isle, or any Part thereof, (and in such Sort and Manner as if this Act had never been made;) provided that such Person or Persons, their Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, do yield, pay, perform, and do unto the said James Earl of Derby, his Heirs and Assigns, and to all and every other the Lords of the said Isle for the Time being, the severall yearly Rents, Boons, Suits, and Services, that have been accustomed and usually paid for the Estates which they, or any of them, shall or may make any Claime or Title, and do also pay unto the said Lord and Lords of the said Isle for the Time being all such Fines certain for the same, and in such Manner and Form as in the said Proposals are particularly mentioned and agreed unto, and not otherwise: And it is further provided, That nothing in the said Saving shall impeach, or be prejudicial to, or be construed or taken to impeach or be prejudicial to the Settlement of the Nature and Quality of the Estates, Tenures, Fines, Rents, Suits, and Services, which hereby and by the said Proposals are agreed upon and intended to be enacted, granted, and confirmed, any Thing in the said Saving to the contrary notwithstanding.

Note,—That it is agreed and consented unto by the Governor, Officers, and twenty-four Keyes aforesaid, at the Signing hereof, that this Act shall be no way

construed and taken to free and discharge the Tennants and Inhabitants of this Isle from giving their best Assistance or Supply for the Defence of the Isle in Time of Warr, or imminent Danger, in such manner as shall be agreed upon by the Governor, Officers, and twenty-four Keyes of the Island for the Time being, as Occasion and Necessity will require.

Tho. Sodor and Mann,
John Parr, } Deemsters.
D. Mylrea, }

Robert Mawdesley,
Chris. Parker,
J. Rowe,
Will. Ross,
John Bridson,

Tho. Stevenson,
Ewan Christian,
John Wattleworth,
Sill. Ratcliff,
Cha. Moor,
Nicho. Christian,
Will. Christian,
Tho. Christian,
John Bridson,
John Oates,
James Christian,

Robert Christian,
Robert Curghey,
James Banks,
Tho. Corlett,
James Oates,
Nicho. Thompson,
Robert Moore,
Dan. Lace,
John Harrison,
John Wattleworth,
John Curghey.

I do hereby declare my full and free Consent to this Act of Settlement, (saving and except so much thereof as relates to the Tythes arising out of the Abbey De-measnes therein mentioned, to be sold by Charles late Earl of Derby to Bishop Bar-row, and the several Rectorys of Kirk Christ Lezayre, Kirk Marown, Kirk Lonnan, Kirk Conchan, Kirk Malew, Kirk Maughold, Kirk Arborey, Kirk Christ Rushen, Kirk Michael, and Kirk Santan, with their and every of their Appurtenances, and all Tenths and Tythes renewing, growing, within or belonging to the said Rectorys, and all Oblations, Obventions, Pentions, Rights, and Dutys thereunto belonging or appertaining, which were by Indenture bearing Date the first Day of November one thousand six hundred sixty-six, made between the said Charles Earl of Derby of the one Part, and Isaac Lord Bishop of Sodor and Mann, and Jonathan Fletcher, Arch-deacon of the said Isle, of the other Part, granted, bargained, and sold to the said Bishop and Archdeacon, their Executors and Assignes, for ten thousand Yeares, at the severall yearly Rents, and upon the Trusts therein mentioned, and such Estate, Right, Title, Interest, Claime, and Demand, as I have, or may or can claime or demand of, into, or out of the same, as if this Act had never been made or passed : And I do hereby confirm this Act (save and except as aforesaid) according to my undoubted Prerogative within the said Isle, and require that the said Act be published at the next Tynwald Court in usual manner.

DERBY.

*At a Tynwald Court holden at St. John's Chappell the 6th Day of June,
Anno Domino 1704.*

The beforegoing Act of Settlement being confirmed by our Honourable Lord in Manner as aforesaid, was this Day Publickly proclaimed upon the Tynwald Hill, according to antient Forme and Custome; as witness our Hands the Day and Year above written.

[Signed as above.]

NOTE V.—PAGE 218.

NUMBERS AS		SUCCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STANLEY.							Began to Reign A.D.
Lord of Man	Earl of Derby.								
1	..	Sir John Stanley received a grant of the Island	..	..	..	..	..	..	1407
2	..	John Stanley succeeded his father	..	..	..	..	..	..	1414
3	..	Thomas succeeded his father	..	..	..	..	..	..	1432
4	1	Thomas, 1st Earl, succeeded his father	..	..	..	..	..	..	1459
5	2	Thomas succeeded his grandfather	..	..	..	..	..	..	1505
6	3	Edward succeeded his father	..	..	..	..	..	..	1521
7	4	Henry succeeded his father	..	..	..	..	..	..	1572
8	5	Ferdinand succeeded his father	..	..	..	..	..	..	1594
9	6	William succeeded his brother	..	..	..	..	..	..	1595
10	7	James succeeded his father	..	..	..	..	..	..	1642
..	..	James beheaded	..	..	..	..	..	..	1651
11	8	Charles succeeded his father	..	..	..	..	..	..	1660
12	9	William succeeded his father	..	..	..	..	..	..	1672
13	10	James, the last Lord of Man, succeeded his brother	..	..	..	..	..	..	1702
..	..	And died	..	..	..	..	..	..	1736

CHAPTER IX.

LORDS AND GOVERNORS OF MAN OF THE HOUSE OF ATHOLL,
FROM A.D. 1736 TO 1830.

Genealogical Sketch of the Family of Tullibardine—John second Duke of Atholl succeeds to the Lordship of Man—Visits the Island—His enactments—The Lords of the Treasury empowered by Parliament to purchase the Royalties of the Island—Negotiations on that subject long protracted—Sale of the Island by John the third Duke—Act of Revestment—Royal Proclamation—Consequences of the Revestment—Exertions of the Duke of Atholl to obtain further Remuneration in lieu of his vested Rights—Commissioners appointed by Parliament to enquire into the validity of the Duke's claims—Obtains a grant by Act of Parliament—The Manks become loyal subjects of Great Britain—The Duke of Atholl accepts the office of Captain General of the Island—Becomes unpopular—His measures strongly opposed by the People—Finally disposes of all his interests in the Island.

FROM an early period of Scottish History the family of Murray is found to have possessed great feudal influence in the North of Scotland. They derive their origin from Friskin, who lived in 1123, and was a descendant of the old Moravij.¹ Friskin was the great grandfather of William de Moravia, who was Baron of Tullibardine in 1292. The Jure Uoris, ancestor of William Murray, of Tullibardine, who died in 1509, whose son William was great grandfather of Sir John Murray, created Earl of Tullibardine, anno 1604. William, the son of this peer, in 1629, obtained the ancient title of Earl of Atholl, in right of his wife, Lady Dorothea Stewart, in whose father it had become extinct. William was a zealous royalist, as was his son John, the second Earl of Atholl, who raised a body of two thousand men for the service of Charles I. In 1642, John was succeeded by his son, who added

¹ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, p. 804.

greatly to the power of his family by marrying Lady Amelia Sophia Stanley, third daughter of James, the great Earl of Derby, who, by her mother Charlotte de la Tremouille,¹ was related to most of the reigning² families of Europe. When only eighteen years of age he took up arms in defence of Charles II, and proved of such advantage to the royal cause that his majesty, after the restoration, made him justice-general, lord privy-seal, captain of his guard, and one of the extraordinary lords of session, creating him, also, Marquis of Atholl. He died in 1703, and was succeeded by his son John, who in the same year was created first *Duke* of Atholl.

In 1706, when the twenty-two articles of the proposed union between England and Scotland came to be debated, John, Duke of Atholl, protested against the number of representatives to be allowed for Scotland in the parliament of Great Britain as being quite insufficient and unreasonable.³

By his wife, Lady Catherine Hamilton, daughter of William, Duke of Hamilton, he had six sons and one daughter. The eldest, who was Marquis of Tullibardine, was a colonel in the Dutch service, and fell at the battle of Malplaquet, in 1709. The second son, William, who succeeded his brother as Marquis of Tullibardine, was attainted in 1716 for being a party in the rebellion of that period; and being taken again in the rebellion of 1746, was sent to the tower of London, where he died in the following year. James, the third son, on the death of his

¹ Charlotte de la Tremouille, as already mentioned, was daughter of Claude de Tremouille, Duke of Tremouille and Trovers, by Charlotte his wife, daughter of Count William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, by his wife Charlotte de Bourbon of the royal house of France, by which marriage he stood allied to the kings of France, Naples, Sicily, and Spain, the princes of Bourbon and Conde, to the arch-duke of Austria, to the dukes of Savoy, Angou, and Milan, and other sovereign princes of Europe.—*Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, p. 379.

² *Debrett's Peerage of the United Kingdom*, vol. ii, p. 514.

³ *Smollett's History of England*, cap. viii.

father in 1724, succeeded to the family titles and estates; and twelve years afterwards he also became Lord of the Isle of Man, in right of his grandmother, on the decease of James, tenth Earl of Derby,¹ as stated at the close of the preceding chapter.

A.D. 1736. Soon after his accession to the lordship of Man, the Duke visited the Island with a numerous suite of gentlemen, and was joyously received by the natives. His first public edict is dated Castle Rushen, 12th Aug., 1736, by which he gives his assent to no less than *fourteen* acts of Tynwald.²

From a regard to the happiness of his people, as stated in the preamble of these acts, he allowed many of the old laws to be revised, and some which had become obsolete, to be completely abrogated. One credible witness was thenceforth to be considered sufficient to convict a malefactor of Larceny; but the punishment of "burning in the hand, or whipping in the different market towns," for that offence, was continued.

Former restrictions as to the holding of fairs and markets were repealed; and "for the better enabling the people to pay their rents, dues, and fines to the Lord," all fairs and markets were to be "as free to strangers as to natives to buy, sell, or barter." For preventing, also, "the many notorious instances of discord and animosity

¹ *Peerage of Scotland*, edition 1826, vol. i, p. 137.

² This assent of the Lord of the Isles was given in these words, at Castle Rushen, 12th August, 1736:—"I do allow and confirm the fourteen acts before written, according to my prerogative within my Isle of Man, and do order that the said acts be published at the next Tynwald Hill, according to the ancient form and custome of my said Isle. (Signed) "ATHOLL."

Which was, as usual, docketed in the following words:—"At a Tynwald Court holden at St. John's Chappell, the 24th day of June, anno Domini 1737, the before written fourteen Acts were this day publicly proclaimed on the Tynwald Hill, according to the ancient form and custome of this Isle; as witness our hands, this day and year above written." Then follow the signatures respectively of the Deemsters, Governor, members of the Council, and of the House of Keys.—See *Lex Scripta*, pp. 263, 281. The Bishop appears to have been absent on this occasion.

among the people, occasioned by slanderous words and defamation," the old law of gagging and whipping in the stocks was deemed insufficient, and it was accordingly repealed, and one of greater severity imposed. The statutes of 1422 and 1664 anent persons leaving the Island without license, were repealed, or, at least, the penalty against masters of vessels taking such persons was restricted to ten pounds. All goods of the growth, product, or manufacture of the Island, were permitted to be exported free of duty ; but as the former impost added ten pounds per annum to the revenue of the lord, certain other dues were to be raised : and it was therefore " provided and reserved that if the duties advanced did not amount to ten pounds per annum, the same should be made good on the part of the people to the lord and his successors." Wheat and barley were allowed to be imported under certain restrictions ; " but the importation of malt was prohibited to all intents and purposes."

By the same set of enactments it was provided that " any person prosecuted in this Island for a foreign debt by any act of arrest in the Court of Chancery, shall for the future be held to bail only for his personal appearance to such action, and for the forthcoming of what effects he hath within this Island, to answer the judgement of the same."¹ This was the law which rendered Man for nearly a century afterwards, the sanctuary of the unfortunate and profligate of the surrounding nations, who flocked thither in such numbers as to make it a common receptacle for the basest of their kind.

It had ever been the true political interest of Great Britain to render every part of the empire as flourishing as possible, without omitting any means which might contribute to turn the industry of the inhabitants to the advantage of the state. With a view therefore of bringing

¹ *Statutes*, anno 1736 ; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 265, 266, 268, 272, 278, 279.

the Isle of Man into closer connection with the general system of our government, and for the purpose of curbing the pernicious practice of smuggling in which the natives were engaged, an act was passed by the British Government so early as the year 1726, authorizing the Earl of Derby to dispose of his royalty and revenue of the Isle of Man, and empowering the Lords of the Treasury to treat with him for that purpose.¹

Many proposals had been made to Lord Derby and to his successor, the Duke of Atholl, by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury appointed by Government; but various obstacles continued to be thrown in the way of effecting the purchase, and the object of government was in consequence not attained for many years.

The Duke of Atholl, evidently with the intention of putting off the sale to a distant day, conveyed the entail to trustees by a deed of feoffment executed on the 6th of April, 1756, whereby they were empowered to make an absolute sale of the Island after his death, with the consent of the lord proprietor—his heir. The money arising out of this sale was to be laid out in the purchase of lands in Scotland, which were directed to be entailed in the strictest manner according to law, on the heirs male of his body, whom failing, to the line of Murray, in preference to the line of heirs from James, seventh Earl of Derby.²

In fulfilment of the tenure by which the Island had for upwards of three centuries been held by the chiefs of the house of Stanley, the Duke of Atholl appeared at the coronation of George III, 22nd Sept., 1761, in the station assigned to the Kings or Lords of Man on similar occasions, at his Majesty's left shoulder holding the sword of Lancaster; and by presenting to the King two falcons

¹ *Statute*, 12th George I, cap. 28, sec. 25.

² *Statutes at Large*, vol. x.

at the close of the ceremony, he did liege homage for the franchise, liberties, avowsons, and patronages of the Isle and lordship of Man. These personal services being accepted by the King, the Duke thereby became entitled to hold and exercise all the rights, and receive all the immunities thereto pertaining, as fully and freely as any former Lord of Man did, or might have done.¹

In 1764, James, Duke of Atholl, died, leaving only one child, Charlotte, Baroness Strange,² who was united in marriage with her cousin John, the male heir of the dukedom, who, in right of his wife also became possessed of the Isle of Man. Scarcely, however, was he settled in his new possessions when the question of the revestment was again revived by the Lords of the Treasury.

On 25th July, 1764, they wrote to his Grace in the following terms:—

“MY LORD,—We think proper to inform your Grace that in pursuance of the powers vested in us by the 12th Geo. I, Cap. 28, we are willing to treat with you for the purchase of the Isle of Man, or by such parts of the rights as are claimed by your Grace, in the same Island, as shall be found expedient to vest in the crown for preventing the illicit and pernicious trade, which is at present carried on between that Island and other parts of his Majesty's dominions, in violation of the laws and to the diminution and detriment of the revenues of this kingdom. But if your Grace is not inclined to enter into treaty with us upon the subject, we beg to be informed of it that we may pursue such other methods as we shall think our duty to the public requires.”

On the 20th of August following the Duke returned for answer:—

“MY LORDS,—I have the same idea with regard to the sale of the Island with the late Duke, who always declared that no temptation of gain could induce him to

¹ See these particulars more fully detailed in the *Scots Magazine* for the year 1765, pp. 77—79.

² He having died on 8th January, 1764, the usual accustomed writs, according to the laws of the Isle of Man, dated at Dunkeld on 9th January, were issued in the name of Charlotte, Baroness Strange, Lady of Man and the Isles, and her husband for proclaiming her accession and for continuing in office the Governor and all other officers of the Island till further orders, which writs were dispatched by express, and published at Tynwald Hill, according to custom, and entered in the public records of the Island.—*Scots Magazine* for February, 1764.

give up so ancient, so honourable, and so noble a birth-right—such as no subject of the crown of England now has, or ever had, and which has been in our family for four centuries; and that he thought nothing could be an equal equivalent to one of his rank and circumstances, for so great a patrimony. At the same time, my duty and attachment to the king obliges me to say, that if it were esteemed, upon a full consideration, an important point for his Majesty's service, and for the good of the public; in that event, I am willing to enter into treaty for the disposal of it, but these are the only reasons that could induce me to do the same.

"I have been but a few months in possession of the Isle of Man, and never in the least turned my attention towards the sale of it, therefore it is impossible for me, uninformed as I am, to fix upon what I should think an adequate price; but I will always be ready to receive, with respect, any proposal that may come from your Lordships."

On the Duke still refusing to point out the amount of the compensation that would be required, a bill was brought into Parliament in January, 1765, "for more effectually preventing the mischiefs to the revenue and commerce of Great Britain and Ireland from the clandestine and illicit trade carried into and from the Isle of Man."¹ A petition was presented against the bill by the Duke and Duchess of Atholl, who, receiving intimation that a treaty might still be entered into for the purchase of their chartered rights, resolved, lest they should be stripped of the whole without any remuneration, to accept of the sum of £70,000 sterling, as a compensation for an absolute surrender "of the Island, Castle, and Peel of Man, with all the Lordships thereto belonging, together with the royalties, regalities, franchises, liberties, and sea-ports appertaining to the same, and all other hereditaments and premises therein particularly described and mentioned as holden under the several grants thereof, or any other title whatsoever, reserving only their lands, inland waters, fisheries, mines, mills, minerals, and quarries according to their present right therein, felon goods, deodands, waifs, estrays, and wrecks at sea, together with the patronage of the bishopric and of the other ecclesiastical benefices in the Island, to which they were entitled."

¹ *Campbell's Annals of Great Britain*, edition 1811, vol. i, p. 124.

The purchase of the Island was consequently concluded, and the sum of £70,000 was paid into the Bank of England in the names of the Duke and Duchess of Atholl; but in consideration of the Duke's retaining the holdings just enumerated, the honorary service of his rendering to his Majesty and his successors two falcons at every coronation was perpetuated, and he was requested to pay likewise a yearly rent of £101 15s. 2d. for the Abbey lands, and £20 17s. in lieu of mines and quarries.¹ *

In addition to the purchase money the Duke and Duchess of Atholl were to receive an annuity of £2,000 per annum, to be paid out of the Irish revenue, which had suffered as well as Great Britain by the clandestine trade with the Isle of Man. It was, therefore, judged reasonable, that some compensation should be made by Ireland, since both kingdoms were to be alike benefited by the suppression of the growing evil.²

A royal proclamation, founded on the Act of Revestment, was issued at St. James's announcing the appointment of a new governor and captain-general of the Island, and continuing in office the clerk of the rolls, the attorney-general, deemsters, and all other persons duly vested in any civil employment; but excepting therefrom such offi-

¹ *Johnston's Jurisprudence of the Isle of Man*, p. 13; *Mills's Ancient Ordinances*, Douglas, 1821, p. 530.

* Appendix, Note i, "List of Public Acts of the British Parliament and private Deeds relative to the Isle of Man."

² *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, vol. ii, p. 546. In a case respecting the validity of the sale of the Isle of Man, as made by the Duke of Atholl, and laid before council in 1788, it is stated "that the sum of £70,000 was paid only for such regalities and other branches of this royal fief as appeared to be convenient for the public, that what was reserved for the Duke did not comprise one-fourth of the yearly revenue of the Island, and that his family by it lost at the rate of £4,000 or £5,000 a-year for twenty-three years successively; such being nearly the difference between the net revenue from the Island for ten years preceding the sale, the purchase-money and the reserved parts of the Island put together. It consequently became a question, how far Duke James was competent to dispose of the Island at his pleasure, and overturn the order of succession, granted by James I, under which he himself derived." See printed opinion of Mr. Hargrave on this case.—*Gough's Camden*, vol. iii, p. 700.

cers as were appointed by the late proprietor to collect his revenues.* Under the Lords of Man all the civil officers had been entitled to certain fees from the inhabitants as a compensation for the performance of their official duties. The Lord himself had various perquisites, amongst which was a fee for every action at law.¹ In the estimate of the revenue of the Island made out by the Duke of Atholl for the Lords of the Treasury, no deduction was made for the support of the established government. The deemsters alone received a small salary of £13 6s. 8d. from the Lord. In some instances also the Lord superior himself received from official persons a certain fee called *office silver*.

When Sir John Stanley received a grant of the Island from Henry IV, the whole revenue did not exceed £400 per annum.² In the time of the last Earl of Derby, who was Lord of Man, the customs were farmed to an English merchant at £1000 per annum.³ The Duke of Atholl, however, annually received a surplus revenue of nearly £6,000, as appears in the schedule to the act 5th Geo. III, cap. 26.⁴

When the sovereignty of the Island became vested, by act of Parliament, in the British King, the inhabitants were so much alarmed at the change of affairs, which they considered must necessarily ensue, that the ruin of all

* Appendix, Note ii, "Royal Proclamation."

¹ Postlethwaite says, "The revenues of the Duke of Atholl arise, for the most part, from small duties and customs paid upon goods entered in the Isle of Man, and afterwards smuggled into England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland."—*Commercial Dictionary*, article "Man."

² *Mills's Ancient Ordinances*, p. 528, act 5th, Geo. III, cap. 26.

³ *Bullock*, p. 197.

⁴ Act 5th Geo. III, cap. 20, *ap. Statutes at Large*, vol. x. The Act of Revestment received the royal assent on 10th May, 1765; the price paid being far from extravagant, if it be considered the advantages the public were to derive from such a purchase. The clear revenue given up by the Duke amounted to £5,604 per annum, "so that the proprietor has not full thirteen years' purchase, whereas a landed estate of that yearly rent would now have sold at thirty years' purchase, amounting to near £170,000 sterling of principal money."—*Scots Magazine*, vol. xxviii, p. 304.

classes was prognosticated. Insular property sunk to a very low state of depreciation; and many, who had the means of removal, left the Island. Nor was the appearance of Lord John Murray's *Freicudan Dhu*, or Black Watch, as the 42nd regiment was then called, who were sent by the British government to maintain the peace, much calculated to allay the discontents of the people, who found their houses and magazines, which had been let for the purposes of smuggling, left empty on their hands, and themselves subjected to other inconveniences necessarily resulting from a revolution so sudden.

John, third Duke of Atholl, died on the 5th of November, 1774, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was succeeded in his titles and estates by his son of the same name, born 30th June, 1755. His claims in the Island being no longer backed by sovereign authority were resisted by every species of opposition, till he was induced in 1781, to present a petition to parliament stating, among other complaints, "that many parts of the act, 5th Geo. III, cap. 26, required explanation and amendment, and that proper remedies or powers were omitted to be given thereby to the Duke and Duchess of Atholl, their heirs, or assigns, seneschals, or stewards, and moars, and bailiffs, for obtaining of their several rights and interests, or for the exercise or enjoyment of such as were intended to be reserved, and therefore prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill to explain and amend the said act, to enable him and his heirs to exercise certain powers."¹

He alleged, that prior to the revestment, the revenues had not been fairly collected;* and that the annual amount, to which the purchase-money had been proportioned, had consequently been too small; that with the consent of the council and keys his father had the power

¹ *Journal of the House of Commons*, vol. xxxviii.

* Appendix, Note iii, "Revenue at the Revestment."

of increasing the duties, and that some rights, not intended to be so, were vested in the crown, such as herring-custom, salmon-fisheries, and treasure-trove. While others meant to be retained, have, by the operation of the act of 1765, been rendered nugatory by being left in a mutilated and unprotected state, the protection which they enjoyed under the former government of the Island having been destroyed, and no new or adequate protection substituted in their room.¹

A counter petition, from John Cosnahan of the House of Keys, as agent for that body, was laid before parliament against the passing of this bill, on the ground that it contained many provisions opposed to the constitution of the Island, and injurious to its inhabitants. Counsel having been heard on both sides, the bill, somewhat amended, passed the House of Commons. In the House of Lords it was opposed by the Lord Chancellor, who stated in his speech, that what the public had purchased of the late Duke of Atholl seemed to him of very little importance, no more, in his apprehension, than certain rights and privileges incident to the proprietor for the time being, as first magistrate and lord of the soil, and which his majesty's servants in the year 1765, very wisely deemed "to be improper to be longer vested in the hands of a subject who exercised those rights independent of, and uncontrolled by, the British parliament. There were many instances to prove that the Lords of Man and the inhabitants were amenable and controllable by the British legislature. One instance only he should mention. In the reign of Henry the Eighth an act of parliament passed for abolishing all monasteries and abbeys, and vesting the lands which belonged to them in the crown. In this bill were included those of Man; and the Earl of Derby so far from exclaiming against the

¹ See Memorial to the King, in *Debrett's Parliamentary Register*.

usurpation, or complaining against the injustice or oppression of such a stretch of foreign power, actually became a lessee for them under the king. Much had been said about manorial rights, whereas they appeared to have no real foundation whatever; these rights, which had been thus claimed, having at different times and upon various occasions been granted to the lord of manors, and, of course, divested out of the lord-paramount."

The Duke of Atholl wished to have every paragraph examined by their lordships with the minutest attention, being persuaded that the more pains there were taken to develop the real purport of the object of the bill, the more supporters it would have.¹ The measure, however, was lost by a great majority.

The Duke, dissatisfied with this result, renewed his application in 1790; but, after a spirited discussion in the House of Commons, it met with a similar fate. Still unwilling to relinquish his object, he, in 1791, presented a petition to the privy council, containing such strong allegations, that it was deemed prudent to appoint commissioners to visit the Island, and make a thorough investigation, not only as to the particulars in dispute, but also into the general state of the revenue and commerce of the Island.

This commission, appointed by parliament in 1792, consisted of five persons; a commissioner of the English board of customs, a commissioner from the board of customs at Edinburgh, two eminent English barristers, and a member of parliament. On their arrival in the Island, these gentlemen were voluntarily assisted in their investigation by a committee of the House of Keys, whose aid they warmly acknowledged in their report to parliament.

By the act 7th Geo. III, cap. 45, sec. 8, any quantity of British spirits, not exceeding 50,000 gallons, was allowed

¹ *Parliamentary Register*, DebreTT, vol. iv, pp. 350, 351.

to be imported annually at a duty of one shilling the gallon ; but brandy and Genevas could only be imported on payment of the English duties. The commissioners found that no part of the British spirits had been imported since the year 1784, that brandy and Geneva were in common use, and that smuggling into the Island was carried on to a great extent, although revenue cruisers were stationed on the coasts.

With a view to prevent this illicit traffic, the commissioners recommended that a limited quantity of British spirits should be allowed to be imported on payment of moderate duties. This recommendation was adopted, and an act was passed 38th Geo. III, cap. 63, to regulate the trade of the Island, in the spirit of which all the subsequent acts, respecting the trade of the Island, have been made.

For the convenience of the inhabitants, as well as to encourage them to engage more extensively in legal commerce, the commissioners likewise recommended that a government warehouse should be erected at Douglas for the reception of foreign European goods ; but this plan seemed to the king's government so big with innovation that it was not deemed expedient to adopt it, though the testimony of the revenue officers tended to establish the fact that illicit practices continued to prevail to a great extent, by running into Great Britain and Ireland, articles either wholly prohibited or which had received bounty or drawback on exportation, or were liable to duty, without payment of the same.¹

The commissioners stated the loss to the king's revenue by this illicit trade to amount to about £350,000 per annum, and the value of seizures made on the coast of Ireland from the Island to be about £10,000 annually.

The result of this inquiry tended to prove that a great

¹ See *Parliamentary Commissioners' Report*, " Illicit Practices."

part of the Duke's allegations were well founded, the commissioners finding that the sum given for the cession of the Island had been proportioned to a revenue ill managed and partially collected, and consequently falling much short of what, under a better system, might have been produced.

During the administration of Lord Sidmouth in 1802, the Duke presented a memorial to his majesty, which was referred to the privy council. After consulting the law officers of the crown, they came to the unanimous conclusion that no grounds existed for conceiving the former compensation inadequate. Soon after the change in the administration, however, a similar petition was again presented to the privy council, and they came to a conclusion exactly the reverse of the former.

In consequence of this favourable opinion, another bill was presented to parliament by the Duke in 1805, on which the former contentions were renewed in both houses, but being supported by government, the affair was at length decided by an additional grant of £3,000 per annum to the Duke and his heirs for ever, out of the consolidated fund.¹ The revenue, however, continuing to increase, a definitive sum was at length paid by government for this commuted annuity.

The first act of Tynwald passed after the revestment was in 1776. From the records of that meeting we learn that his majesty had been pleased to grant permission to the customary legislature of the Island to enact such laws as might be found necessary for the interior good government and police of the Isle. Every enactment of the Insular legislature must now be sanctioned by the king, before it can be published at the Tynwald court as the statute law. And to show what scrutiny these Insular enactments undergo in London, before receiving the royal

¹ *Parliamentary Debates*, vol. v, 1805.

assent, I shall transcribe a letter on that subject to the Duke of Atholl, who, in 1793, had accepted the office of captain-general and governor-in-chief of the Island :—

“ Whitehall, 15th July, 1796.

“ TO THE DUKE OF ATHOLL.

“ MY LORD,—I have had the honour of receiving your Grace's letter of the 8th inst., transmitting me three different acts passed by the legislature of the Isle of Man, entitled, ‘ An Act for the better regulation of the Courts of Common Law,’ ‘ An Act for the better regulation of the Herring Fishery,’ and ‘ An Act for the punishment of Forgery and Perjury, and Swindling Practices;’ and having laid the same before the king, I am directed to inform your grace that the said acts have been taken into consideration : that the two former are thought well calculated to promote the interests of the Island, as well from their *contents* as from the sanction given to them by his majesty's attorney general and solicitor general. I am therefore directed to return the said acts to your grace, and to signify to you his majesty's approbation thereof; but it appearing to his majesty's law officers in this country, that the last mentioned ‘ Act for the punishment of Forgery and Swindling Practices’ is conceived in terms so general, that persons acting without any criminal intent may be liable to criminal persecution, and punished by fine, imprisonment, and corporal punishment, attended in some cases with personal disabilities: and particularly it is observed, that the unlawful disposing of the goods of other persons, without authority so to do, is liable to such punishment without any distinction, whether the act is done with a criminal intention, or is a mere civil trespass. It will therefore be necessary to give the said act a more serious attention before his majesty can be advised to give his consent thereto.¹

PORTLAND.”

Since the British government acquired the power of enacting laws for the government of the Isle of Man, those enacted laws have hitherto been confined to the customs or port-dues, and the regulation and prohibition of the manufacture of articles which might affect the revenue. The

¹ *Lex Scripta*, pp. 448, 449. This nice discrimination of the laws, so necessary to the dispensation of justice, forms a striking contrast to the power exercised by the preceding Lord of Man over his vassals in Perthshire. The lord president Forbes, travelling from Edinburgh to his seat at Culloden, dined, on his way, at the Castle of Blair Atholl, with the Duke of Atholl. In the course of the evening a petition was delivered to his grace; having read which, he turned round to the president, and said, “ My lord, here is a petition from a poor man whom my baron-bailie has condemned to be hanged, and, for various reasons, I am inclined to pardon him.” “ But your grace knows,” said the president, “ that, after condemnation, no man can pardon but his majesty.” “ As to that,” replied the duke, “ since I have the power to punish, it is but right that I should have the power to pardon;” and calling on his servant who was in waiting, “ go,” said he, “ send an express to Logierait, and order Donald Stewart, presently under sentence of death, to be instantly set at liberty.”—*Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders*, edition 1825, vol. i, p. 52.

act 25th Geo. III, grants to the House of Keys the discretionary power of permitting the importation of cured herrings in times of scarcity, thereby acknowledging the House of Keys in a British act of parliament.

The Manks, ere long aware of the absurdity of the fears which they had entertained at the revestment of the Island, at length became loyal subjects of Great Britain. In 1796, an act of Tynwald was passed, whereby persons circulating seditious books or speaking seditiously are subjected to a penalty of £100 and one year's imprisonment.¹ During the late French war, the Island furnished two battalions of fencibles, which served with credit in Ireland during the rebellion in 1798, besides a corps of volunteers and a squadron of yeomanry. At the close of the eighteenth century, too, when subscriptions were set on foot in every part of the empire to assist in carrying on the war against France, the House of Keys manifested their attachment to the British Government by subscribing one hundred and seventy five pounds, which was sent to the Treasury with the following neat observation :—

“ House of Keys, March 13, 1798.

“ MY LORD,—The Keys of the Isle of Man, the constitutional representatives of the people, warmly attached to them and to the constitution of Great Britain, offer this, their mite in aid of their cause ; and they feelingly regret that, in tendering so small a sum, there is so great a disproportion between their wishes and their abilities—having no public funds at their disposal.”²

In 1793, I have said, the Duke of Atholl had accepted the office of captain-general and governor-in-chief of the Island. The acceptance of this situation, considered so far below his former rank in the Island, together with his subsequent defeat in parliament, induced the islanders to consider him a fellow-sufferer with themselves, by the act of revestment, and trusting that his interest would still be exerted in behalf of his natural dependants, they, on his

¹ *Lex Scripta*, p. 442.

² *Jeffery's Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 121.

arrival at Douglas, to enter on his new office, flocked around him, and taking the horses from his carriage drew him to his usual place of residence, amidst the loudest acclamations.* These friendly demonstrations, on the part of the people, were evidently aided by their belief, that the Duke, after his recent defeat, would not again think of renewing his manorial claims in parliament; for when the purport of his memorials to the king, the privy council, and to parliament became successively known in the Island, his popularity declined, and the former grudge of the islanders against the House of Atholl was kindled anew.¹ Even the clamorous odium which the Duke had incurred in the year 1783, of having sold the Atholl highlanders, a regiment raised by him, to the East India Company, after the term of their service had expired,² was now revived against him; and in addition to this, the maintenance of his private rights, by the exercise of his power as governor, in appointing to all the different departments, to which either his patronage or influence could extend, persons connected with or depending on his family, generally to the exclusion of the natives, furnished a theme of jealousy and indignation for the islanders at large.

In the year 1814, it was enacted that debts contracted in Great Britain or Ireland became recoverable in the Isle of Man, in like manner, to all intents and purposes, as if such debts had been contracted between the same parties within the limits of the said Isle.³ The Protection Act, as it was termed, being thereby repealed, the stigma thrown on the Island, as being an asylum for unprincipled fugitives, was wiped away; but the protec-

* Appendix, Note iv, "Loyalty of the Manks People."

¹ *Bullock*, p. 199.

² *Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders*, Edinburgh edition, 1825, vol. ii, pp. 478—480.

³ *Lex Scripta*, pp. 484, 485. *Mills*, p. 424.

tion afforded to such individuals being removed, many withdrew from the Island to seek protection elsewhere, carrying with them unjustly acquired wealth which otherwise might have found its way into the pockets of the Islanders. As this was an event which had been totally unexpected, a sudden panic struck the greater part of the native inhabitants, and a stagnation of trade followed, similar to that which took place at the revestment; all indulged in the most gloomy apprehensions as to the future prospects of the community.

Although the Non-Protection Act had been passed by the insular legislature at the instigation of the British government, the Duke of Atholl was blamed by the Islanders for being the chief promoter of the unpopular enactment. All his measures were viewed with great suspicion by the insular legislature, and by the people at large; and most of them experienced considerable opposition, on the ground of their being calculated to promote the interest of his family at the expense of the Islanders.

On the promulgation of a law in 1821, restraining the importation of foreign corn, the population of Peel rose and fairly drove out of the town a troop of yeomanry whom the deemster had sent from Castletown to quell the riot.¹ In Douglas, also, disturbances occurred, and great depredations were committed on the property of the dealers in corn.

In 1823, popular feeling ran so high against the duke and his nephew, the Honourable George Murray, then Bishop of Sodor and Man, as to render abortive a plan concocted by them for raising £6,000 annually from the Island in lieu of tithes. In 1825, the bishop having fully established his claim, before the king in council, to a tithe of all green crops in the Island, attempted, to col-

¹ *Lord Teignmouth's Sketches*, vol. ii, p. 269.

lect the tithe of potatoes, but it created so much dissatisfaction, that tumults prevailed throughout every part of the Island, and so numerous were the assemblages of the people, that the regular troops then quartered there were unable to disperse them ; and the disturbances and conflagrations that ensued induced the bishop to abandon his claim.

Finding, at length, that the strongest marks of aversion were openly manifested, not only to his own person, but also to his dependants, the duke formed the resolution to dispose of all his remaining interest in the Island : and having signified his intention to his majesty's ministers, an act was passed in 1824, "empowering the lords of the treasury to purchase all the manorial rights of the Duke of Atholl in the Isle of Man." To ascertain the true value of these sovereign rights and possessions, persons eminently qualified for the purpose were sent by the lords of the treasury to the Island ; and from reports made by these gentlemen, after long negotiations on the subject, they succeeded in bringing the business to a close in 1829, by paying the duke a further sum for a complete surrender into the hands of government, of all his rights "in and over the soil, as lord of the manor, with all his landed property, courts baron, rents, services, and other incidents to such courts belonging ; their waters, commons, and other lands ; inland waters, fisheries, and mills ; and all mines, minerals, and quarries, according to their present rights therein ; felons' goods, deodands, waifs, estrays, and wrecks at sea ; together with the patronage of the bishopric, and of the other ecclesiastical benefices in the said Island, to which they were entitled ; and which they had, since 1765, continued to hold of the crown." The items of the sum paid by government were in round numbers, as follows :—

Customs Revenue	£150,000
Tithes, Mines, Quarries, Demesnes, Lands, &c... ..	132,114
Patronage of the Bishopric and of fourteen Advowsons	100,000
Quit-rents and Alienation Fines	34,000
	<hr/>
	£416,114

Thus, whatever privileges were conveyed to the Stanley family by the patent of the 7th Henry IV, and confirmed by subsequent patents, on the ratification of this long protracted negotiation, which had lasted for upwards of a century, became unalienably vested in the British crown, and the interest of the house of Atholl in the Island ceased and determined.

The last honorary service of presenting two falcons to the king was rendered on the 19th July, 1821, by the Duke of Atholl, in person, at the coronation of George IV. His grace was an active, liberal, and enlightened nobleman: he possessed considerable interest at court, which he uniformly employed in advancing the real interests of his Island. After a long reign of 56 years, he died at Dunkeld, on the 29th September, 1830, in the 76th year of his age.

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER IX.

NOTE I.—PAGE 243.

LIST OF PUBLIC ACTS OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT, AND PRIVATE DEEDS RELATIVE TO THE SALE OF THE ISLE OF MAN.

An Act of 12th George I, enabling the Lords of the Treasury and James Earl of Derby and others, to contract for the purchase or sale, for the use of his Majesty, of all or any of the Estates, &c., of the said Earl or others, then had or claimed to the said Island, &c.

Also, That James late Duke of Atholl, as right heir of James Lord Stanley, on failure of heirs male of said William Earl of Derby, by the death of James then late Earl of Derby, became seized to him and his heirs of the said Island, &c., (except the said Mines Royal) revested in the Crown as aforesaid.

Also, A Feoffment, dated 14th November, 1737, and grant to Lord Mansfield and others, of said Island, &c., (except as aforesaid) upon certain Trusts, with power of revocation.

Also, An Indenture, dated 4th May, 1748, being a revocation of the Trusts in said Feoffment, and a new appointment—with power of revocation and of new appointment.

Also, A Feoffment, dated 6th April, 1756, revoking said former Trusts, and making appointment of said Island *upon Trust*, to convey the said Island, &c., to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, as therein mentioned.

Also, A Feoffment, dated 21st November, 1761, being an appointment of new Trustees in the stead of the Duke of Argyle, and John Sharpe, deceased, upon the Trusts in the Indenture of 6th April, 1756, mentioned—with further powers of revocation.

Also, The death of James Duke of Atholl, on 8th January, 1764, leaving Charlotte, the wife of John Duke of Atholl, and Baroness Strange, his daughter and only child, whereby they became entitled to the said Isle.

Also, A Treaty between the Lords of the Treasury and the said Duke and Duchess of Atholl, for the purchase and sale of the said Island.

Also, A Contract with the Commissioners of the Treasury, dated 7th March, 1765, for the purchase of the said Isle, which enacts, that, upon payment by his Majesty, into the Bank, of a sum of £70,000, in the names of the Duke and Duchess of Atholl, Sir Charles Frederick and Edmund Hoskins, the Isle of Man, &c., to vest, unalienably, in the Crown. The Cashier's receipt testifying the payment of the said sum to be a sufficient discharge to his Majesty.

The said sum, or the Lands purchased therewith, pursuant to trusts expressed in Deed of Feoffment of 6th April, 1756, are to be subject to the same Estates, &c., as the said Island, &c.

Reservation of the Bishopric, and other rights not vested in the Crown, but to be held by the usual honorary service of rendering two falcons on the Coronation, and the yearly rent of £101 15s. 2d.

NOTE II.—PAGE 244.

ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

Douglas, Isle of Man, 15th July, 1765.—The English colours have been hoisted on the Castle of Rushen, and we have a great many troops here from Ireland, so that we are acting in a scene quite different to our customary one. Yesterday his Majesty's Proclamation was read at the Market-place, amidst a prodigious concourse of people; several regiments of regulars as well as militia were drawn up, and fired several volleys, which were answered by the guns from the battery. The day was spent in great mirth, and the evening concluded with illuminations and fire-works. After reading the Proclamation, Governor Wood made a speech on taking possession of the Island for the King of Great Britain.—*Scots Magazine* for 1765, pp. 398, 399.

Of the Royal Proclamation, "For continuing Officers in the Isle of Man," the following is a copy:—

GEORGE R.

Whereas, by an Act made in the last Session of Parliament, intituled, "An Act for carrying into execution a contract made, pursuant to the Act of Parliament of the twelfth of his late Majesty King George the First, between the Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, and the Duke and Duchess of Atholl, the proprietors of the Isle of Man, and their Trustees, for the purchase of the said Island and its dependencies, under certain exceptions therein particularly mentioned." It is enacted, That from and immediately after the payment into the Bank of England, by us, our heirs or successors, in the names of John Duke of Atholl, and Charlotte Duchess of Atholl his wife, Baroness Strange, Sir Charles Frederick, Knight of the most honourable Order of the Bath, and Edmund Hoskins, Esq., or the survivors or survivor of them, of the sum of seventy thousand pounds, on or before the first day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, the Island, Castle, Peel, and Lordship of the Isle of Man, and all the Islands and Lordships to the said Island of Man appertaining, together with the royalties, regalities, franchises, liberties, and sea ports to the same belonging, and all other the hereditaments, and premises therein particularly described and mentioned (except as therein is excepted) should be, and they were thereby unalienably vested in us, our heirs and successors, freed and discharged and absolutely acquitted, exempted and indemnified, of, from, and against all estates, uses, trusts, entails, reversions, remainders, limitations, charges, incumbrances, titles, claims and demands whatsoever: and whereas we have caused to be paid into the said Bank of England in the names of the said Duke and Duchess of Atholl, Sir Charles Frederick and Edmund Hoskins, the said sum of seventy thousand Pounds, on the seventeenth day of May last passed; whereby, and by virtue of the said Act of Parliament, the immediate care of our said Island, and of our loving subjects therein, is now devolved upon us. And whereas by our commission, bearing even date with these presents, we have constituted and appointed our trusty and well-beloved John Wood, Esq., to be our Governor-in-Chief, and Captain-general, in and over our said Island, Peel, and Lordship of Man, and all the islands, forts, castles, and lordships thereunto appertaining. We, being desirous to provide for the due and regular administration of justice within our said Island of Man, and the territories and dependencies to the same appertaining, and to secure the peace and good

order thereof, and to promote, to the utmost of our power, the happiness and prosperity of all our loving subjects residing within the same, have thought fit, with the advice of our Privy-council to issue this our Royal Proclamation, hereby strictly commanding and requiring all manner of persons whatsoever, to pay due regard and obedience to the said Act of Parliament, and our said Royal Commission, and cheerfully and dutifully to submit themselves to our said Governor so appointed by us, as aforesaid, and to be aiding and assisting to him, and all other our magistrates and officers, in the lawful discharge of their authorities, to them committed and intrusted, as they will answer the contrary at their perils. And our will and pleasure is, that all officers and ministers who now are, or at the time of the publication of this our Royal Proclamation, within the Administration of Justice within our Island of Man, shall be concerned in our Island aforesaid, and particularly our Clerk of the Rolls, Attorney-general, and two Deemsters, and all other persons whatsoever, who, at the times aforesaid, are or shall be duly and lawfully possessed of, or invested in, any civil employment, (except only the officers appointed and employed by the late proprietors of our Island of Man, in collecting and receiving the revenues arising within our said Island, and the territories and dependencies of the same) shall from henceforth hold their respective offices, places and employments, of, from, and under us, our heirs and successors, and shall continue in the exercise thereof, and shall enjoy the same, with such salaries, fees, profits and emoluments, as have hitherto belonged to the same respectively, until our royal pleasure in this behalf shall be further known: and we do strictly command and enjoin all and every the said persons, of whatsoever rank, condition, or degree, to proceed in the execution of their said respective offices, and to perform all the duties thereunto belonging, upon pain of our highest displeasure: and we do further charge and command all and every our said magistrates, officers, and ministers, and all persons whatsoever, who shall hold any office, place or employment, ecclesiastical, civil or military, within our said Island of Man, and the territories and dependencies of the same: that within the space of one calendar month from and after the publication of this our proclamation within our said Island, they do take the oaths appointed to be taken by an Act of Parliament passed in the first year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the First, intituled, "An Act for the further security of his Majesty's Person and Government, and the Succession of the Crown in the heirs of the late Princess Sophia, being Protestants; and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of Wales, and his open abettors."— And also make and subscribe the declaration mentioned in an Act of Parliament, made in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of King Charles the Second, intituled, "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants," in the presence of our said Governor, his Lieutenant or Deputy, or in the superior Court or Courts of Record in our said Island, upon pain of our highest displeasure, and as they will answer the contrary at their utmost peril. And our will and pleasure further is, that all jurisdictions and authorities whatsoever, which were heretofore carried on and exercised in the name of the Lord of our said Island of Man for the time being, or of any other person or persons whatsoever, and which are now vested in us, our heirs, and successors, by virtue of the said Act of Parliament, shall be henceforth carried on and exercised in the name of us, our heirs and successors, only. And that all writs, precepts, processes, orders, injunctions, and all other forms of law and justice, and all acts of state and policy, for the due ordering and government of our said Island, and the territories and dependencies thereunto belonging, shall be issued and executed in the name, and by the authority of us, our heirs, or successors, or our Governor or Lieutenant, or Deputy Governor, for the time being, appointed or to be appointed by us, our heirs and successors, and in no other name, and by no other

authority whatsoever. And we do hereby strictly command and enjoin our said Governor, and all other our Magistrates and Officers, within our said Island, and the territories and dependencies to the said belonging, to see this our Royal Proclamation duly carried into execution; and to cause the same to be publicly read in all principal towns of the said Island, between the hours of eleven in the morning, and two in the afternoon; and printed copies thereof to be affixed in the most public places of the same, and to be distributed to all the Ministers of Churches, Chapels, and other places of religious worship, within our said Island, and the territories and dependencies thereunto belonging. And we do hereby lastly charge and command all Ministers of Churches, Chapels, and other places of religious worship aforesaid, publicly to read this our Royal Proclamation therein, on the next Lord's-day after they shall receive the same, during the time of divine service, immediately before the homily or service, upon pain of our highest displeasure.

Given at our Court at St. James's, the twenty-first day of June, 1765, in the fifth year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

NOTE III.—PAGE 245.

AMOUNT OF REVENUE AT THE REVESTMENT.

An abstract of the clear Revenue derived from the Island by the Lord for the ten years beginning with 1754, and ending with 1763, drawn up previously to the sale, states the Average Annual Amount to be £7,293 Os. 6d., arising as follows:—

REVENUE OF THE ISLAND.	INCOME FOR THE TEN YEARS.	AVERAGE INCOME PER ANNUM.
Land Revenue.....	£13,981 4 1	£1,398 2 5
Clear Revenue of the Customs	64,217 0 5½	6,421 14 0½
Clear Revenue for Herrings	1,258 8 10	125 16 11
Felons' Goods, Waifs, Strays, Forfeitures, } Wrecks, Fines, Perquisites, &c..... }	1,042 3 3½	104 4 4
Clear Revenue of the Improprated Tithes..	2,305 0 4½	230 10 0½
Clear Revenue of the Abbey Temporalities ..	1,217 10 0	121 15 0
Income of Land in the hands of the Lord } of Man..... }	1,063 19 5½	106 7 11
Manks.....	£85,085 6 6½	£8,508 10 8
British.....	£72,930 5 6	£7,293 0 6*

* See Schedule to the Act 5th George III, cap. 26.

The revenues given up to England for the sum of seventy thousand pounds British were only those of the second and third heads, amounting to £5,612 3s. 8d. British, per annum.

In the year 1798, the revenue of the Island amounted to £6,000; but, in 1805, it amounted to upwards of £16,000.—For debates on the Duke of Atholl's claims, *vide Parliamentary Register, Debrett*, vol. xxvii, pp. 307, 315, 383, 561.

The Gross Amount of Revenue from 1764 to 1790, both years inclusive, was
£75,576 ls. 3½d.

AMOUNT OF REVENUE FOR YEARS—	AMOUNT OF REVENUE FOR YEARS—	AMOUNT OF REVENUE FOR YEARS—
1791.... £3016 8 11½	1798.... £4392 0 8	1805.... £9949 9 4
1792.... 3446 11 10	1799.... 5560 9 7	1806.... 10,916 11 1
1793.... 4037 2 11½	1800.... 7113 4 2	1807.... 13,765 1 5
1794.... 4338 1 5½	1801.... 7417 8 11	1808.... 13,576 9 0
1795.... 4101 2 9	1802.... 12,579 11 2	1809.... 14,250 17 1
1796.... 6502 4 2	1803.... 11,683 0 3	1810.... 17,142 7 9
1797.... 4151 5 10	1804.... 10,473 5 3	1811.... 14,167 1 1

It may be here observed, that when the Parliamentary Commissioners
visited the Island in 1791, the gross amount of the Revenue was.. £3016 8 11½
The disbursement for the same year £3272 2 2

Since the passing of the Acts 3d and 7th William IV, cap. 60, the
Annual Revenue has amounted to £25,000 0 0
The Annual Expense of the Government, Custom-house Establish-
ment, &c. £10,000 0 0
Net Revenue paid into the British Treasury £15,000 0 0

The progressive Increase of the Revenue tends to show the wisdom of the recom-
mendation made by the Parliamentary Commissioners for the prevention of smuggling.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 252.

LOYALTY OF THE MANKS PEOPLE.

In no part of the British dominions was the coronation of Queen Victoria celebrated with greater demonstrations of loyalty than in the Isle of Man, 28th June, 1838. The morning was ushered in by the firing of cannon; and by sunrise, every vessel in the harbours and roadsteads of the Island, was decorated with a variety of flags. There is no peal of bells in the Island, but the church bells were rung at intervals during the day; and the members of the various societies walked in procession through the streets of the different towns, in some instances accompanied by the clergymen of the neighbourhood in *their sacerdotal robes*, and by the constituted authorities, captains of parishes, coroners, moars, and sumners, bearing their various badges of office.

In Douglas, upwards of fifteen hundred children of the different Sunday-schools of the town walked in procession, and were regaled in tents, erected for the occasion, on the green lawn of Castle Mona; while two hundred gentlemen fared plenteously in the Castle Hotel. The principal inhabitants of the town dined in parties at the

different hotels. Two hundred and fifty *Odd Fellows* dined in the large room over the New Market; nor were the immediate wants of the poor overlooked on that joyous occasion; nearly £120 having been collected by voluntary subscription in Douglas and its vicinity. From a full fraught *cornucopia* upwards of six hundred indigent persons partook of a substantial and plentiful dinner at the Soup Dispensary; and about sixty inmates of the House of Industry were entertained in a similar manner. Sir William Hillary, Bart., feasted all the sailors of the Lifeboat establishment; and the Governor gave an excellent dinner to all the prisoners confined in Castle Rushen. Fireworks and balls, in the evening, terminated these animated festivities.

In the procession at Douglas, what most attracted the attention of the vast company, was the novel sight of a printing press, which Mr. Quiggin had erected on a cart, in full operation, striking off the national anthem of "God save the Queen," many hundreds of which were distributed gratuitously to the gazing multitude.

It may be remarked that the *Mona's Isle*, Royal Mail Steam Packet, illuminated with upwards of six hundred variegated lamps, tastefully arranged, presented a grand and imposing spectacle, as she lay at anchor in the Bay of Douglas.

CHAPTER X.

MOUNDS AND FORTIFICATIONS.

Dormitories of the Dead—Ancient Custom of Burying eminent Persons who fell in Battle—Cromlachs, Cairns, standing Stones, and other Sepulchral Monuments—The green Moats of Galloway alluded to—Tynwald Hill—Origin of the Name—Formalities of the Tynwald Court—Fortlets and Blockhouses enumerated—Fortified Camp described—Great Antiquity of the Fort of Douglas—Peel Castle described—Occupied as a state Prison—Castle of Rushen described—Besieged by King Robert, the Bruce—The Garrisons built and maintained in repair by Suits and Services called Carriages—Quarterlands taxed to supply the Castle Larder—Carriage Troves—Castle Mazes—Setting Corn—Duties of the Garrison Officers—Soldiers' Qualifications—Insular Militia—Commanded by Majors and Captains of Parishes—Dress—Watching and Warding, a Duty of great Importance—Male Population may be called to Arms—All Military Appointments now vested in the Crown of England.

SEVERAL of the large conic tumuli with which the Isle of Man abounds have been found, upon opening, to be dormitories of the dead.¹ The significant names of some of these mounds might have prompted curiosity to make this discovery. One of the largest in the Island is called *Cronck-ny-marroo*,—"The hill of the dead." That the carnage of war has tenanted these moats, may be inferred

¹ Many sepulchral tumuli, or burial places, are yet remaining. The urns which have been taken out of them are well burnt, and of so hard a clay that it is scarcely possible to break them. They are full of bones.—*Camden's Britannia*, vol. ii, p. 1455. In 1658, M. Chaloner, who was then governor under Lord Fairfax, caused a barrow, near Bishop's Court, to be opened, and found in it fourteen urns, or earthen pots, placed with their mouths downwards: one of them, of finer workmanship than the rest, was imbedded in fine white sand, but contained nothing more than a few brittle bones which had evidently passed through the fire.—*Wood's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 156. "Some of the urns are enclosed by large stones placed edge-ways in the earth, and some are found in stone coffins, one coffin containing many urns."—*Feltham's Tour in the Isle of Man*, in 1797, 1798, p. 180.

from the many sanguine conflicts which have deluged the Island in blood.¹

It was a custom of the Danes, when a battle was finished, for every soldier to bring a helmet-full of earth towards raising a monument over the slain; and when a distinguished Caledonian fell in battle, the soldiers set his remains upright, with his spear in his hand,² which, by law, was required to be eighteen feet long, and then banked him up with earth till the top of his spear was covered.³ These circumstances may account for the sepulchral mounds in the Isle of Man being so large and numerous.

Cronck-ny-marroo is a fine specimen of the sepulchral barrow;⁴ it stands on the sea-cliff, near the creek of Grenach: it is an oblong and regularly-formed turf mound, forty feet long, twenty broad, and upwards of twelve feet in height, placed across the isthmus of a small insulated crag which overhangs the beach.

The largest mound in the Island, is *Cronk-na-moar*, or, "The large hillock," commonly called by the inhabitants, "The fairy hill."⁵ It stands in a morass near Kirk Christ

¹ The largest sepulchral barrow raised in modern times, is that to the memory of Kosciuszko, the great Polish patriot, commenced in 1820, at Warsaw. "In raising this immense mound, almost every inhabitant of that nation, male and female assisted."—*Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, No. 260.

² *Borthwick's British Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1776, p. 125.

³ By act of the Scottish parliament, "All spears to be *six elns* in length, under pain of escheat of the spears, and the maker or home bringer to be in the king's will."—*James III, Parliament 6*, cap. 44, p. 110. "At this time, the Annandale and Liddesdale men carried spears two *elns* longer than the rest of their countrymen."—*Sir Walter Scott*, quoted in *Logan's Scottish Gael*, vol. ii, p. 308.

⁴ Monuments of the ancient inhabitants are often found in the form of little green round hills. It is the received opinion, that these are the graves of giants, and, indeed, bones larger than the human size are often found in them; but we must remember, that as the ancients durst not approach the palace of Odin on foot, their horses were buried with them: it is therefore very probable that the bones of these animals are often mistaken for those of men.—*Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, vol. i, cap. xii.

⁵ The names given by the Druids to their favourite mounds, or tumuli, were of the most venerable kind; *Siodhum*, or "mounts of peace," were the most common. The idea that the vulgar retain to this day of these mounts, is, that they are inhabited by those inferior kind of genii denominated fairies.—*Smith's Gaelic Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1780, page 30.

Rushen ; it is a truncated cone nearly forty feet high, and upwards of four hundred feet in circumference at the base. Its summit forms an area of twenty-five feet in diameter, surrounded by elevated edges in the form of a parapet five feet high. At its base, are the remains of a deep and wide fosse, more particularly towards the eastern side, where it divides the *cronck* from a low embankment extending from the edge of the morass. Opposite to this terrace, the ascent to the summit of the hill is less precipitous than on the other sides, and is in some measure divided into lodgments or platforms, apparently of the original formation. The Fairy-hill is composed of gravelly soil similar to that of the adjoining bank, and according to tradition, was raised over the remains of King Reginald who was murdered there by his uncle Ivar, on the third of the Kalends of June, 1249 ; but according to the most authentic account, Reginald was interred in the Church of St. Mary, of Rushen.¹ The structure of this mound bears evidence of its having been a fortified possession.

Near Kirk Andreas Church, is seen *Cronk Ballavarry* ; and about a mile and a half nearer the shore, is *Cronk-e-dooney* ; about half a mile from Ramsey, on the Kirk Andreas road, stands *Cronk Aust* ; all of which, with many others of a similar description, scattered over the Island, have evidently been erected for similar purposes.

The ancient inhabitants of every region have raised memorials to the illustrious dead, that have outlasted the transactions they were intended to perpetuate. The Greeks incinerated their dead, and placed in the apex of the tumuli, conical pillars or images of various kinds. The Jews, from an early period of their history, raised

¹ *Johnstone's Chronicles of Man*, p. 151, and *Chronicles of Man*, in *Camden's Britannica* ; *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, 1703, p. 13. A cross stood formerly at the place where this prince was slain, called, "Cross Ivar."—*Johnstone's Celto Normaniæ*, Copenhagen, 1786, Appendix.

cairns over the ashes of their departed friends, to commemorate their actions. Ossian, in describing the tombs of his heroes, says, "Raise high the mossy stones of their fame, that the children of the north hereafter may behold the place where their fathers fought." In Gaelic, the solemnities of the funeral is called *Foiradh*, that is, the heaping of the stones—the making of the cairn over the dead.¹ In early times, the same mode of inhumation appears to have been followed in the Isle of Man, varied only according to circumstances. The barrow composed of stones of an irregular size, carelessly heaped together, are generally found in the mountains and on the eastern side of the Island, while those composed entirely of mould, are mostly found in the low grounds adjoining the northern and southern shores. A group of small barrows may be seen regularly ranged on Lammal-hill, and several more widely scattered on the mountains of Archallaghan. Many single barrows remain very entire in the neighbourhood of Bishop's Court, in the parishes of Andreas, Bride, Jurby, German, and Rushen. In the parish of Patrick, near the Niarbyl or Dalby Point, or hill called *Cronck-eyrey-yn-laa*, is a large cairn which, according to tradition, was the cemetery of several of the ancient Kings of Man.²

*Cromlachs*³ and *cairns* of large dimensions are frequently met with in the Island, one of which, opened by my friend Dr. Oswald, of Douglas, contained three small urns placed on a kind of tassellated pavement of pebbles, surrounded by some chips of charcoal of the oak, and the central earth was evidently loaded with carbonaceous matter.

¹ *Lord Teignmouth's Sketches*, vol. i, p. 199.

² *Haining's Historical Sketches*, pp. 134, 135.

³ "In the Celtic language, *Cromlach* signifies a 'crooked stone;' so denominated not from being crooked in its figure, but from the standing position in which it was generally erected, the roof stone being an inclined plane, in order to let the blood of the victim flow the readier from it, that by tracing the different meanderings of the sanguine stream in its descent, the priest might draw his auguries for good or evil." — *Toland's History of the Druids*, London, 1726, p. 96.

The *Kist Vaen* of the *Cairns*, which are, for the most part, raised on the high ground, is sometimes the depository of a skeleton laid in the usual manner, with the thigh bones folded upon the breast, and some of them of an extraordinary size. One of these, called *Cairn Vial*, of large dimensions, is seen in the parish of Kirk Michael. It is, also, by no means uncommon to meet with the *Kist Vaen* containing calcined bones, from which we may infer that interment after this fashion was used, if not before, at least during the time of the Romans in Britain.¹

Rude monumental stones, similar to those so frequently met with in Galloway, are also to be seen in the Isle of Man. Many of these rude blocks without inscriptions, are undoubtedly of Norwegian origin. They often stand alone; but more frequently two are seen not far apart. At Ballachrink, near Kirk Santon, rises above a few others of less dimensions, one of these masses of micaceous quartz ten feet high. Two stand in the valley immediately north of Mount Murray and are very conspicuous objects. Between Port Erin and Port-le-Murray stand also two blocks called the "the giants' quoiting stones," the altitude of each being ten feet. Ossian frequently says that "two grey stones mark the tombs of his heroes," hence it may be inferred that these standing stones are memorials of the mighty of other times; but having generally outlasted all tradition respecting their origin; Mr. Chalmers thinks they might as well not have been set up.² But the purport of the monument was known to the Norwegians by the formation of the stone. "These stones raised in many places, are from ten to thirty feet high, notably situated, and placed in wonderful order, with some notable character. They signify, when of right long order,

¹ *Ballacarnane-moar* and *Ballacarnane-beg*, both in the parish of Michael, derive their names respectively from a large and small *cairn*.

² *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 233.

the battles of champions : by a square order, troops of warriors : by a round order, the burials of families : and by a wedge form, they show that near that place an army of foot and horse had fortunately prevailed.”¹

It is equally certain, I think, that the many representations of living creatures and of imaginary monsters which adorned some of these obelisks, had, in like manner, distinct significations or heraldic meanings.

The sepulchral monument, called “The Cloven Stones,” situated near Laxey Bay, which, according to tradition, commemorates the death of a Welsh prince who was slain there, is formed after the rudest style of the Norwegian order, without an inscription. The two stones forming it are each six feet high, and one of them is cloven from top to bottom. In the same locality is a circle of standing stones, hitherto considered by many to be a Druidical temple ; but on the enclosed space being recently opened, the following facts were discovered, from personal observation. The excavation laid open a tumulus of about two hundred feet in diameter, exposing on two opposite sides of it the base of an arch, which, in rough stone work, was formerly sprung over the spot, enclosing an interior vault of fifteen feet square. Near the centre of the vault is a tomb of most singular and unique construction. Two large convex stones form the sides of this tomb. They measure nine and a half feet in length by six feet broad and eight inches in thickness. They evidently bear the marks of detached pieces of stone, worn by the action of water, into a flat ovate form, and made convex and concave not unlike the form of a clam shell. These are placed upon one edge, about three feet apart at the bottom, and inclining towards each other as they rise, leaving a small aperture at the top of a foot or eighteen inches in width.

¹ *History of the Northern Nations, by Olaus Magnus, Bishop of Upsal*, London, folio, 1658, p. 11.

Over this, in all probability, a thin cover stone had been laid, but which had been broken to pieces in the course of time; so that the tomb originally was a case of concave stones, like three clam shells so placed as to form an ovate space within their cavities. Within the vault human bones and teeth in considerable quantities have been found. From these discoveries it has been inferred that such stones are the remaining memorials of an ancient cemetery, whose history is lost in the revolutions of time, and that the interments were made in a remote period of antiquity, and among a people to whom the use of the chisel and dressing hammer were unknown.

In no district of the British Isles, of equal extent, are there so many artificial mounds as in Galloway. Besides barrows, hillforts, and cairns, there is a *green mound** immediately adjoining almost every parish church throughout the whole extent of this ancient province.

The Druids had their high places or eminences in sight of the sun, on which many of their religious ceremonies were performed, and where their courts of justice were held.¹ And it is, to this day, a prevailing opinion that when they were driven from these *Mutes* or *Moats*,² as they are yet called, they were taken possession of by the primitive Christians. Each pastor went up to his own holy hill of Sion, and spoke to the people in the presence

* Appendix, Note i, "Green Mounds of Galloway."

¹ *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1780, p. 31.

² In Gaelic, *moid*, from which the Saxon word *moat*, and Swedish word *mote* or *mute*, are derived, signifies "a court or place of meeting"—*Macpherson's Dissertation on the Government of the Western Isles*, p. 140. Such was the Mute hill of Scone, which Malcolm Canmore, after having given away all the other lands of his kingdom, reserved to himself.—*Guthrie's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 227. At the village of Minnygaff, situated near the foot of Polkill, in a low ground hard by the church, there is an artificial moat which, by tradition, hath been handed down to posterity as being at first contrived for sacrificing to Jupiter and the Heathen Gods; and when Christianity obtained it, was used for that purpose, and as a mercat place for the inhabitants to meet and do business.—*Macfarlane's MSS.*, vol. i. p. 517, *Advocates' Library*, Edinburgh; *ap. Symson's Description of Galloway*, written in 1684, Edinburgh 1823, p. 132.

of the Lord, as did the expounders of the law in all nations of antiquity. In Ireland, the Brehon judges sat in the open air "that magic might have less power over them." The Manks judges did the same.¹

Churches were built, and age after age successively passed away; yet so deeply rooted was the opinion in the minds of the people that supplications to the Deity could not be offered in any place so appropriate as from an eminence in the open air, that down to the close of the eighteenth century, a numerous sect prevailed in the south of Scotland, called *Mountaineers* or *Hill Folks*, from their convening on the hills to perform their devotional exercises after the manner of their forefathers, under no other canopy than that spread out by the hand of nature.

Galloway being only sixteen miles distant from the Isle of Man,² there can be no doubt that the religious tenets of the inhabitants of both places were exactly similar, and that consequently the mounds adjoining the churches in Man were used for the same purposes as those in Galloway at the period alluded to. The green mount adjoining the cathedral church at Peel is one of this description. It is of a pyramidal form, terminating obtusely and flanked on three sides by a fosse and corresponding walls or mounds. The mound is about twelve feet high. The sides measure about seventy yards each and respectively face one of the cardinal points of the compass. Grose, in his *Antiquities*, supposes it to have been a place from which the commanding officer of the garrison harangued his troops or distributed his orders.³ If so, of what use were the ditch and circumvallations? They could only be meant for defences to cover the besieged from at-

¹ *Macculloch's Description of the Highlands and the Western Isles*, London, 1824, vol. iv, pp. 452, 453. Amongst the Saxons, "The wittenagamots" was the name given to their popular assemblies.

² *Table of Bearings and Distances*, chap. i, page 35, of this work.

³ *Grose's Antiquities of England*, vol. iv.

tacks by missile weapons from the neighbouring hill which surmounts the area of the castle. Had this celebrated antiquary supposed this eminence to have been raised a thousand years before a stone of the garrison of Peel was built, in my opinion the conjecture would have been nearer the fact.

It has been adverted to in another part of this work, on the authority of the *Chronicles of Man*, that a sanguinary conflict took place at Santwart, in 1098,¹ between the inhabitants of the northern and southern divisions of the Island; and that Magnus Barefoot landed at St. Patrick's Isle, and surveyed the field of battle before the slain were interred.²

In the Suio-Gothic or ancient Scandinavian language, *Santwart* signifies *Saint-hill*; and as St. Patrick's Isle was the ancient name of the islet on which the Saint-hill of the Islanders stands, it is, therefore, evident that the battle in 1098 was fought at the mound alluded to by Mr. Grose. After having been used in the early ages of the world for Pagan purposes, it may be reasonably supposed that this singular mound, on the introduction of Christianity into the Island, became a place of Christian worship, and thence received the name of Saint-hill, which the Norwegians, when they became masters of Man, converted in their own language, to *Santwart*.

Sacred hills of the same description abound in Orkney and Shetland; and as these were converted by the first northern adventurers, in their progress through these Islands, into *duns* or places of defence, it may also be inferred that the fosse, by which Santwart is surrounded was constructed, by Norwegian hands in order to convert the mound from a place of worship into a place of war. This earthen fortification in the Saxon language is called

¹ *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden.

² *Johnstone's Cello Normanica*, Copenhagen, 1786, p. 150.

Peel.¹ They are of frequent occurrence in Galloway,² and indeed there are many similar tumuli of unknown antiquity in different parts of Scotland, bearing the same name to this day. As I can not find the appellation of Peel given to any place in Man before the Scottish conquest of the Island, I am of opinion that it was first applied by these conquerors solely to the mound in question; although it has since been extended not only to St. Patrick's Isle, but also to the village on the adjoining mainland, then called Halland Towne.³

In the parishes of Onchan, Patrick, and German, respectively, there is an estate called *Ballaquayle*, which evidently derived its name from being, "A court or place where justice or judgment was administered."

Sir John Stanley held a court on the hill of Reneurling, in 1422; and Henry Byron, as the king's lieutenant, held a court on the top of Cronk Urleigh,⁴ in 1429.



But the most celebrated eminence in the Island is *Cronk Keeillown*,⁵ now called the Tynwald Hill, which stands upon the lawn called St. John's green, near the church of that name, three miles from Peel, on the main road to Douglas. This ancient mound is of a circular form. It was formerly surrounded by a wall about a hundred yards in circumference. The approach to the top is by a flight of steps, directly facing the ancient

¹ *Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, Edinburgh, 1818.

² "I have observed several green hillocks, one on the west side of the river Bladenoch, another at the Kirk of Mochrum, another at the Place of Myrton, and one near the house of Balgreggan, in the parish of Stoneykirk, all of which have trenches about them, and have been all artificial."—*Symson's Description of Galloway*, written A.D. 1684, printed at Edinburgh, 1823, p. 94.

³ *Lex Scripta*, p. 5.

⁴ That is—"The Hill of the Eagle."

⁵ Which signifies—"The Hill of St. John's Church."

chapel of St. John's, to which there is a spacious road of approach from the foot of the mound. There are three circular grass seats or benches below the summit, which are regularly advanced three feet above each other.—The circumference of the lowest is about eighty yards; there is a proportionable diminution of the circumference and width of the two higher; the diameter of the top is six feet. From its great antiquity, and the many historical events with which its name is associated, the Tynwald Hill must always be considered an interesting object.¹

In the year 1229, a great battle was fought at the Tynwald Hill, which decided the contest between Reginald and Olave, the sons of king Goddard, for the crown of Man; and in 1238, Dugal, Maol Mhuise, and Joseph, deputies of king Harold, were slain there, in a contest with Lauchlan, the king's viceroy; but it derives its principal celebrity from being the place where the laws of the Island have been promulgated from an unknown period of antiquity.²

Various opinions have been entertained and different conjectures hazarded regarding the true etymology of its name. At first view, this might seem of little moment; but when it is considered that investigations of this nature enable us to trace the antiquity of places with more certainty than could otherwise be obtained, it certainly becomes an object of importance. Many persons will be aware that *thing*, in Scandinavian, means *an assembly of the deputies of the people*.³ *Wald* is an old Saxon word,

¹ According to Grose, the Moat of Urr, in Galloway, "greatly resembles the *Tinewald*, in the Isle of Man." "When Galloway was an independant state, this was where the reguli or petty kings of that district held their councils and promulgated new laws. It was also their seat of judgment, where their *doomsters* or judges tried capital offences. The *Tinewald* is appropriated to the same uses."—*Antiquities of Scotland*, London, edition 1797, vol. ii, p. 183. See, also, *Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire*.

² *Chronicles of the Kings of Man*, ap. Camden's *Britannica*.

³ *Repp's Wager of Law*, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 45.

signifying *a woody place*;¹ we have, therefore, the compound word *Thingwald*, expressing in the original signification,—“The court in the wood.” By the Tynwald Hill in Man is now understood “the judicial hill.”²

There can be no doubt that this court was of ancient British origin; although such was not confined to the capital of the Sodorenses. The barons of the Western Isles* held courts on a hill top, called *Cnoc-an-eric*, or “the hill of pleading,” long after the Norwegian authority had ceased to be acknowledged there.³

Tingwald seems equivalent to the Saxon *Husting*. It is a Court of Leet or Baron, settling all matters in dispute between the Lord and his tenantry; a general assize

¹ *Chalmers's Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 118.

² The word *Tinwald*, yet retained in many parts of Scotland, signifies *Vallis Negotii*, and is applied to those artificial mounds which were, in ancient times, assigned to the inhabitants for holding their *Comitia*.—*Sir Walter Scott, ap. Peveril of the Peak*, chap. v, note ii.—*Tingwall* in Shetland, and *Dingwall* in Ross-shire, with *Tinwald* in Dumfriesshire, have the same meaning as *Tynwald* in Man.—*Macculloch's Description of the Western Isles*, vol. iii, p. 246. *Thing* signifies, in the ancient language of the North, to speak, and hence a popular assembly is called *Al-thing*. The general convocation of the nobles is called *Alls-herjar-things*. The national diet of Norway still retains the name of *Stor-thing*, or great assembly; its two divisions are the *Sag-thing*, or upper chamber, and the *Odels-thing*, or lower chamber.—*Pulgrave*, vol. i, cap. iii; *ap. Scandinavia*, by Crichton, vol. i, cap. iv.

* Appendix, Note ii, “Danish Tingwall Courts.”

³ *Macqueen's Dissertations on the Government of the Western Isles*, edition 1774, *ap. Feltham*, p. 144. “There were in this land,” says the learned antiquary quoted below, “about one hundred superior kings of the British blood, who governed successively, yet notwithstanding, there were under them divers other princes that had the title of kings also, though they served and did belong to the superior kings, that was, to the king of *Alban* or *Prydyn*, or Scotland, the king of *Kymbery* or Wales, the king of *Gwneydd* or Venedotia. And the same laws and government were used in the dominion of every prince as was in the dominions of the superior kings. And every inferior king had to execute the law on all transgressors that offended in his dominion; but when he could not attend in person, he appointed a deputy. The highest degree was a *Brenin* or *Teyen*, who had his *Egnat Komot* or County Judge and two *Rhingill* or Sergeants. All these assembled at a mound cast up for the purpose, upon which was placed the judgment seat, so as the King or Brenin, when seated in it, might have his back to the sun or weather. Some of these mounds were square and some round, but both round and square were called *Gorseddevy Dadle*, that is ‘the mount of pleading.’ These *Gorsedde* are yet seen in our country and ever will if they be not taken down by men’s hands.”—*Toland's History of the Druids*, London, edition 1726, pp. 194, 203.

where all suits respecting property are adjudged ; a general court of gaol delivery, in which all criminal prosecutions are determined. Thus every affair respecting the public is openly transacted in the view of the people ; yet with profound silence and all possible decorum.¹

The fortifications of the Island fall next under our notice. The fortlets or beacon stations are generally raised on the summits of hills or places difficult of access, and are similar to the strengths of the first people, which are still to be seen in various parts of Scotland and Ireland. They were probably the only safeguards of the aboriginal inhabitants, many centuries before the invasion of any foreign people ; such was *Cronk-narrai-shage*, "the hill of the watch by day," a commanding eminence near Lhen Mooar ; that on Jurby Point is called *Cronk Mooar* ; the next in the line is on the heights above Orrisdale ; and there are several others along the coast to Peel Castle, and thence southward by the watch-hill of Knockaloe, and eastward by some *cronks* in the neighbourhood of St. John's. In Kirk Christ Rushen, there are several apparently connected with the large mound called "The Fairy Hill," and communicating with the interior, which are so situated as to complete the chain from north to south. Some of these bear evident marks of fire having been frequently kindled on them.

On the west side of Mount Murray there is another fortlet of the first people, three hundred and sixty feet in circumference. It is surrounded by a rampart and fosse ; the outer ditch being twenty-four feet wide.

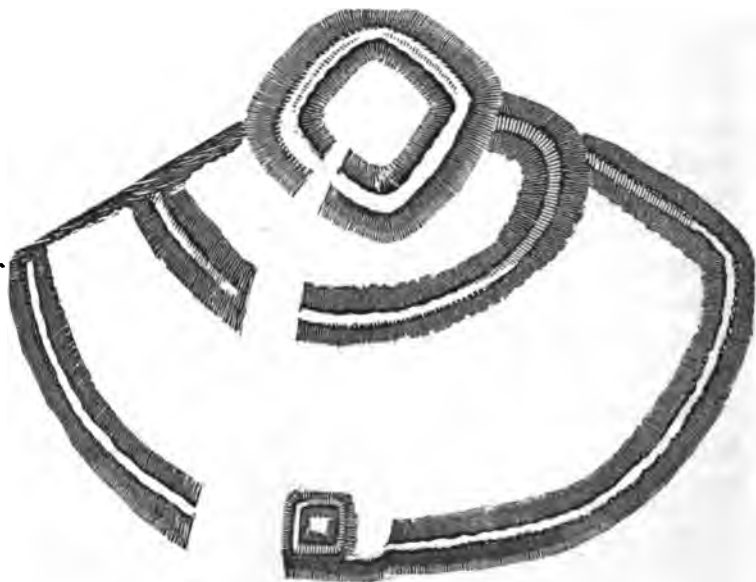
On the peninsula of Langness, there is another specimen of these ancient defensive stations. The rock, on which it stands, is somewhat higher than the neighbouring shore and is insulated by the highest spring tides only. From

¹ Lord Coke's 4th Institute, cap. xix ; Willis's History of Cathedrals, vol. i, p. 369.

the beach on the land side, is cut in the rocks a flight of steps, which leads to the top in a winding manner. The ruins of old buildings may still be traced in the neighbourhood. Above Port Greenock, on the opposite side of the bay, are two old fortifications, which were probably used as posts of observation. In the records of the Duchy of Lancaster, the adjoining lands are called Torkilstadt, supposed to be derived from the celebrated sea-king Torkel.

The highest point of South Barrule is enclosed by the ruins of a wall of most unusual magnitude. It seems to have consisted of a perpendicular face, externally banked up with earth, so as to give it at present the form of a mound. It encloses a space of one hundred and fifty yards in diameter, forming an irregular circle from the nature of the ground. On the steepest and most inaccessible side of the hill, the wall is weak; but on the north side, where the ascent is easy, the base of the ruin is nine yards in thickness.

Castleward, one of the most entire remains of a Nor-



wegian station that has reached our times, is situated in a valley, on the banks of the river Glass.

At Ballacurry there is a fine old fortified camp. It is not older than the time of the civil wars, and was probably erected by Duckenfield in the time of the Commonwealth. It is thus described by Colonel Townley:—"It is more complete than any I have seen in England of that time; the situation of it is most eligible, being formed on a small natural eminence in a very level district. The internal square, on which the troops encamped, is a level piece of ground, sunk so much below the bastions and curtains as effectually to secure the troops within from any attack of fire-arms from without; this space is one hundred and fifty feet long, and one hundred and twenty feet broad; the fosse is twenty feet wide, and the outer rampart is twelve feet high. There are four noble bastions, one at each corner, sixty feet in diameter. There is no breach in any part of the works, which favours the supposition that the troops retained peaceable possession of their fortified camp."¹

When Queen Elizabeth, as previously noticed,² temporarily assumed the government of the Island, she was apprehensive that the disputed claims to the sovereignty might induce the Spaniards or Scots to land troops there for invading her territories. With a view to prevent which, she caused a circular fort to be erected on an islet, called St. Mary's, at the entrance of Derbyhaven. The walls of this fort are eight feet thick; and the figures 1603, over the door-way, point out the date of its erection.³

The harbour of Ramsey was also formerly protected by a fortification, built by James Earl of Derby, about

¹ *Townley's Journal kept in the Isle of Man, Whitehaven, 1791, vol. i, p. 160.*

² *Vide ante, p. 176.*

³ *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley, p. 72.*

the year 1648, and named by him Fort Loyal, but no vestige of it now remains.¹



At the bight of the Pollock Rock, the original entrance to the harbour of Douglas, there also stood an old fort, not many years ago taken

down. This Gothic act deprived the Isle of Man of a structure perhaps more ancient than any other in the British dominions. The Romans, Saxons, and Danes built circular towers or *raths* of large masses of unhewn stone, cemented with lime obtained by burning shells from the sea-shore. The roof was formed of an arch, made of the same materials: and the battlements crowned the summit of the walls all round.² The Pictish tower was still more ancient, and was only distinguishable from the rath by a small turret that rose from the centre a little above the battlements. The old fort of Douglas had this distinguishing mark,³ and was evidently of very high antiquity. If we can credit Waldron's report,—“The great Caratake, brother of Boadicea, Queen of Britain, concealed here his nephew from the fury of the Romans, who were in pursuit of him, after having vanquished the queen and slain all her other children. There is, certainly, a very strong secret apartment under ground in it, having no passage to it but by a hole which is covered with a large

¹ *Feltham*, p. 163.

² The tower of Orchardton, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, on the property of Colonel Maxwell, is a fine specimen of the Danish *rath*. It is forty feet high; the wall, which is circular, is six feet thick; and the inside diameter is fifteen feet, thereby corresponding with the form, and nearly with the dimensions of the Old Fort of Douglas.

³ See *Bleau's Map of the Isle of Man*, published at Amsterdam, 1658.

stone, and is called to this day,—‘The Great Man’s Chamber.’”¹

This venerable remnant of antiquity, as already mentioned, was recklessly thrown down several years ago.—The Bay of Douglas is now defended by a small fort of modern erection, mounting two eighteen-pounders. The Calf, too, was formerly defended by a good garrison, although little trace of it is now to be seen.²

Peel Castle, the palace of the Stanleys,³ is situated on



a rocky islet, of about two hundred yards diameter,⁴ formed at the north-east termination of Peel Hill, from which it is separated by a narrow creek. Adjoining the harbour, this space has been filled up by a strong stone wall, of modern erection, broad at the bottom and bevelled towards the top, till contracted into the breadth of a moderate foot-path, along which the visitant may proceed to the main gate of the Castle, at the southern point of the rock. Before the erection of this breakwater, a person wishing to visit the Castle, could only approach it by

¹ *Waldron*, p. 152.

² *Camden's Britannia*, vol. ii, p. 1440.

³ *Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 27.

⁴ *Grose's Antiq. of England*, vol. iv.

sailing or wading, according to the state of the tide, across the streamlet which forms the harbour of Peel, and separates the garrison from the mainland.

The ascent to the garrison was by a flight of steps cut in the rock, and strongly cramped with iron; but they are now so much worn as to be of little use to the visitant, who is obliged to clamber up the rocky steep. From the point where the first flight of steps terminates, others, turning to the left, lead through an arched gateway in the side of a square tower, which surmounts on the right the dark vaulted guard-room of "Mauthe Doog" celebrity.*

Proceeding through this passage of "dim light and dark fame," you emerge into the castle-yard, from the centre of which may be distinctly seen the battlemented walls in the form of an irregular polygon, built of coarse grey stones, coigned and faced in many parts with a red grit found in the neighbourhood; the whole enclosing an area of five acres. Upwards of a century's decay has materially altered the lofty description by Waldron:—"Though now, no more than a garrison in ruins, you can not enter it without being struck with a veneration which the most beautiful buildings of later years cannot inspire. The largeness and loftiness of the rooms—the vast echo resounding through them—the many winding galleries—the prospect from the sea—and the ships, which, by reason of the height of the place, seem like buoys floating on the waves below, make you fancy yourself in a superior orb to what the rest of mankind inhabit."² The pillar tower is of high antiquity.*

Having passed the first, you have other stairs of nearly

* Appendix, Note iii, "Legend of the Moddey Doo."

¹ *Mauthe Doog* is erroneously given by Waldron as the Manks for "Black Dog," which I have taken the liberty of correcting.

² *Waldron*, p. 109.

* Appendix, Note iv, "Round Towers."

half the number with the former to mount, before you come at the second wall. This, like the other, is full of port-holes for cannon, which are planted on *stone crosses*,¹—a singular kind of carriage for heavy ordnance.

The death of Olave, king of Man, which took place at Peel in the year 1237, is the first mention I find made of this fortress, although it is supposed to have been a place of defence long before that time. Previous to the invention of fire-arms the Castle of Peel was considered to be one of the strongest in the British Isles; and this circumstance, added to its insulated situation, caused it frequently to be occupied as a state prison.²

In 1397, Thomas, Earl of Warwick, who was one of the Duke of Gloucester's party, was convicted of high treason, but on account of his submissive behaviour, his life was spared, and his sentence commuted to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man, where he was committed to Peel Castle, but was afterwards recalled, and his accuser, Lord Scrope, Earl of Wiltshire, was beheaded without any formal trial.³

In the year 1447, Eleanor Cobham, spouse of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of king Henry VI, and lord protector of England, was, through the malice of the Duke of Suffolk and the Cardinal of Winchester, accused of associating with witches and wizards⁴ to circumvent the life of the king, and obtain the crown for her husband;

¹ *Waldron*, p. 104.

² *Banks's Universal Geography*, folio 936; *Camden*, vol. ii. p. 1447.

³ *Tyrrell*, vol. iii, part ii, p. 968; *Trussel's Continuation of Daniel's Collection of the History of England*, p. 22.

⁴ "In the reign of Henry VI, among other friends of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, his Duchess, dame Eleanor, was arrested. Roger Bolyngbroke, a man expert in nycromancye, and a woman called Margery Jourdemain, surnamed the Witch of Eye, were charged with having, at the request of the Duchess of Gloucester, devysed an ymage of wax lyke unto the kynge, the whych ymage theye dealt so with that by theyr devyllish sorcery, they intended to brynge the kynge out of lyfe, for the whych reason they were adjudged to die."—*Fulgan Chronicle*, 394; *vide also Grafton's Chronicle*, p. 587.

and having been found guilty, she was banished to the Isle of Man, and confined in Peel Castle.¹ She was very turbulent and impatient under confinement; and, although many attempts were made to get her away, she was never liberated.²

It was in Peel Castle that Edward Christian, deputy-governor of the Island in 1628, and uncle of the celebrated but unfortunate *William Dhone*, was confined for a conspiracy against the Earl of Derby.³

In the year 1648, a fort was begun on the mainland, opposite the castle, under the superintendence of Sir Arthur Ashton, to stop any relief that might be brought by boats in case the castle should rebel or be besieged.⁴ But had the walls of the fortillage on Horsehill been sufficiently strong, the castle could not have sustained a long siege, with the enemy in possession of that commanding eminence.⁵

Before the British government purchased the royalty of the Island, Peel was garrisoned by troops in the pay of the Lord of Man. At the time of the sale of the Island, there were removed from the armoury many matchlocks, muskets, and other ancient fire-arms.⁶ There were, also, in the cellar of a wine-merchant in Peel,

¹ Shakspeare, in the second part of his *Henry VI*, act ii, scenes 3rd and 4th, introduces Sir John Stanley as the conductor of the Countess to the place of her confinement, although the last Sir John Stanley died in 1432, and this play only comprises the ten years between 1445 and 1455.

² "They tell you," says Waldron, "that ever since her death to this hour a person is heard to go up and down the stone stairs of one of these little houses on the walls constantly every night as soon as the clock strikes twelve. The conjecture is that it is the troubled sprite of this lady, who died as she lived, dissatisfied and mourning her fate."—*Description of the Isle of Man*, folio 110.

³ *Vide ante*, p. 197.

⁴ *Feltham's Tour*, p. 210.

⁵ In *Grose's Antiquities of England*, 4to edit., vol. iv, there is a view of Peel Castle, a view and plan of St. German's Cathedral, a view of the ruins of St. Patrick's Church, a view of Rushen Abbey, and two views of Castle Rushen, taken in 1774, with short descriptions, occasionally referred to in this work.

⁶ *Wood's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 153.

in 1776, several very ancient guns, the bores of which measured each a foot in diameter; they were formed of a number of bars, hooped with thick iron rings, similar to those of Mons Meg, in the Castle of Edinburgh.¹ Several of these guns had no breach, and seemed to be of the petard kind, loading from behind, with a chamber. In Grose's time, many other unserviceable guns, made about the time of Henry VIII, were lying up and down the castle.²

The garrison of Peel is surrounded by a platform, enclosing a space of about five acres,³ and was formerly well fortified. Within this circuit stand also the ruins of the cathedral dedicated to St. German; the ruins of another church dedicated to St. Patrick; the ruins of the palace of the Bishop of Sodor and Man; the ruins of the palace of the Stanleys; and other remains of antiquity,⁴ which will be fully described in a subsequent chapter.

The Castle of Rushen, situated at Castletown, in the southern division of the Island is one of the finest specimens of a Gothic fortification that can now be seen in Europe. The castle of Elsinore is said to be an exact resemblance of it. Rushen Castle, which was finished in

¹ This celebrated piece of ordnance is formed of a number of thick iron bars held together by fifteen strong iron rings. The bore of this extraordinary cannon is 19½ inches in diameter, and its length is 13 feet; its weight is 6½ tons, and that of the carriage on which it is placed is 3½ tons. According to a still existing local tradition, quoted by Symson, who wrote his *Description of Galloway* in 1684, Mons Meg was made at a place called "The three thorns of Carlinwark," near Castle Douglas, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, to level the Castle of Threave, in that neighbourhood, then possessed by James Douglas, Lord of Galloway, who had rebelled against King James II. *Vide* my communication on this subject in *History of Galloway*, Kirkcudbright, 1841, vol. i, note M.

² *Grose's Antiquities of England*, vol. iv, "Isle of Man."

³ Since the Revestment in 1765, the officers of the crown have taken possession of this island, which was held as a perquisite by the Governor. It was occupied by the High-bailiff of Peel, who used it as a sheep-walk, and annually paid a lamb or some small consideration to the governor, by way of acknowledgment.—*Feltham*, p. 210.

⁴ *Roll's History of the Isle of Man*, London, 1773, p. 103; *Ward's Ancient and Authentic Records of the Diocese of Sodor and Man*, London, 1837, p. 27.

960, was built by Guthred, son of Gorree, the first Manks king of the Danish line.

In the year 1313, this castle sustained a siege of six months, notwithstanding all the force which Robert the Bruce, King of Scotland, could bring against it; but it was at last reduced: and in order to prevent its again becoming a receptacle to the enemy,¹ *he demolished it, as well as all the other strongholds in the Island.* Of Rushen Castle I find no further mention during a period of nearly three hundred years, until the Earl of Derby, by an order, issued at Latham, dated 18th February, 1593, “thought fit to erect again his two garrisons of the Castles of Rushen and Peele.”²

This order appears to have been given in consequence of a claim to the Island being urged by the king of Scotland in an agreement with the king of Norway (although it had been granted by Henry IV to Sir John Stanley) thus forcing the lords of Man to keep a constant standing army and garrisons for its defence, till the reign of James I, of England.³

By the mandate in question, it was farther ordered, that “all the setting corne of the parishe of Kirk Patrick shall be presently brought to the Castle of Rushen, and not *inned* at the Peele, but upon special necessity.” This we might consider an additional proof of the latter garrison not being in a proper state of defence, were it not mentioned in another place, that all the quarterland custom cattle were to be sent to the Castle of Peel.⁴

Rushen Castle is built on the margin of the Great River, the rocky bed of which is nearly dry at low water. Be-

¹ *Buchanan's History of Scotland*, vol. i, book viii; *Major*, b. v, cap. i; *Hollinshead's Chronicles*, vol. i, p. 436; *Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, 1775, vol. 2, p. 564; *Fordun*, *ap. Goodal*, vol. ii, p. 240; *Tytler*, vol. ii, p. 207.

² *Lex Scripta*, Douglas, 1818, p. 86.

³ *Camden's Britannia*, folio edition, 1695, p. 1052; *Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 10.

⁴ *Lex Scripta*, p. 88.

fore the invention of artillery, the garrison was considered impregnable.



The main building of Rushen Castle is a square mass, with towers of the same form on its four sides, of an irregular altitude, and rising in some parts to the height of 80 feet. The ramparts are twenty-

four feet high, and nine feet thick, battlemented all round by a covered way on the top, and defended by machicolated towers, a ditch, and glacis of an irregular form, supposed to have been built by Cardinal Wolsey, who was one of the curators of Edward, the sixth Lord of Man, during his minority. In the roof of the keep, there is some very large timber, which, according to tradition, was brought from the Isle of Anglesey.¹

At the entrance of the castle, there stood formerly a large stone chair for the governor,² and two lesser ones for the deemsters.³ When you pass the gate, you enter into a long winding passage between two high walls, resembling the description of Rosamond's labyrinth, at Woodstock. In case of an attack, ten thousand men might be destroyed by a very few in attempting to enter.⁴ The

¹ *Grose's Antiquities of England*, vol. iv, "Isle of Man."

² King David I, of Scotland, "on certain days sat at the gate of his palace to hear and decide the causes of the poor."—*Hailes's Annals of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 109.

³ Henry Byron, lieutenant of the Island, held a court of all the commons betwixt the gates of the Castle of Rushen, on "the Tuesday next after the XX day of Christmas, in the year 1430." This court, which was called "The Great Enquest," was subsequently held twice a year by the governor and deemsters.

⁴ *Waldron*, p. 97.

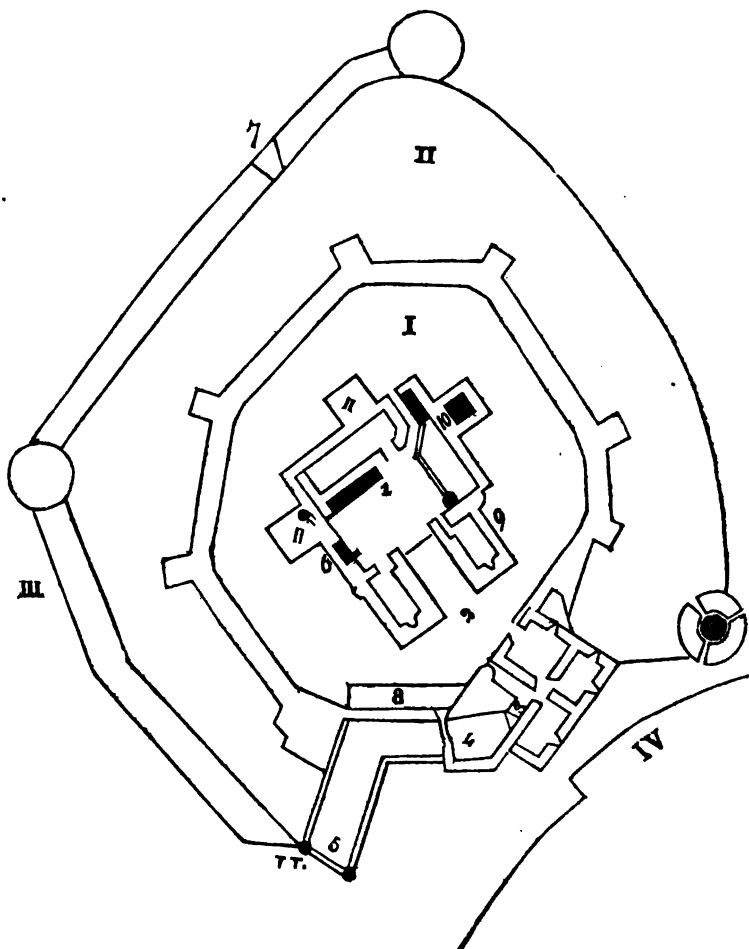
barracks and debtors' rooms are in the inner part of the castle. The prison room for criminals is damp, dark, and wretched. It was to this cell, on 29th June, 1722, that Bishop Wilson was committed for non-payment of fifty pounds awarded against him. He was closely confined there for some weeks; as were, also, his two vicars-general, for smaller sums.¹ Under the criminal cell is another for outrageous prisoners, who are let down into it by means of ropes. Not a ray of light is admitted to this miserable place except what makes its way through the chinks of the trap door or covering. When the interior of the castle was undergoing considerable repairs in 1816, a dark cell was discovered in one of the inner towers, which had been previously unknown to any person then alive.* The stone work of the inner part of the castle is of limestone, similar to that found in the neighbourhood, and *not of freestone as stated by Waldron.*² The internal area is fifteen feet in diameter, surrounded by walls two stories high, and appears at one time to have been covered in. The under story might be about fifteen feet high, but is partly filled up with rubbish. There is a sally-port towards the harbour, and the appearance of others which have opened into the ditch. The upper story seems to have had two entrances independent of those below. One leads obliquely through the wall towards the fosse; and the other, which is built up, passed in a narrow zig-zag through the opposite side of the wall to the defences on the exterior, which rise high against the redoubt at this front. Like most other old buildings, Rushen had its stalking spectre, which appeared nightly to the inmates, dressed in black.*

¹ *Bullock*, p. 174; *Wood*, p. 126.

* This recalls to my recollection one of the marvellous narratives of Waldron, which I give in the Appendix to this Chapter, Note v, under the head—"The Home of the Spell-bound Giants."

² *Description of the Isle of Man*, London, 1751, p. 101.

* Appendix, Note vi, "The Black Lady of Castle Rushen."



GROUND PLAN OF CASTLE RUSHEN.

REFERENCES.

- I. Inner Keep with Battlemented walls.
- II. Ditch or Fosse.
- III. Modern Glacis, with ancient Redoubts.
- IV. The Harbour,
- 1 Inner Court of the Keep.
- 2 Inner Portcullis.
- 3 Outer Portcullis.
- 4 Ancient Barrier.
- 5 Modern outer Barrier.
- 6 Site of the ancient Gate of the Keep.

- 7 A modern Entrance formed through the Glacis from the Market-place.
- 8 Modern House, dated thus:—



- 9 Highest Tower, height fifty feet.
- 10 Dark Cell, discovered in this solid Tower during the repairs in 1816.
- 11 Towers which are solid one story high.

As the stranger rambles about its ruins, he has pointed out to him, the kitchen, known by its large fire-place—the banquetting hall—and various other apartments which were all required when the kings and lords of Man resided there. It was the chief residence of the kings of the race of Gorree, who generally dwelt on the Island; and the occasional residence of the Stanleys. James, the seventh Earl of Derby, resided there from 1643 to 1651; and, “besides the garrison soldiers, he kept a troop at free quarterage.”¹ His heroic lady, who was resident with her family in Castle Rushen at the time when the Island surrendered to Duckenfield, was detained prisoner there till the restoration.²

James, the tenth Earl of Derby, resided in the Castle of Rushen during the winter of 1712.³ He was the last of the Derby Lords of Man.

The garrisons were built and kept in repair by a kind of statutory labour of suits and services called *carriages*. Four carriages were required for every quarterland, and one for every cottage or intack holding, and had to be performed either by labour of horses or by service of men, as the governor might think fit to order.⁴

As it was an ancient law of the Island that the inhabitants should do their duties and services at the building and repairing of the forts and garrisons, either by service of themselves in person, or by the service of some sufficient and able labourer in their behalf; and as many of the better sort of farmers were in the habit of sending boys and children to such work, thereby throwing the burden on the poor people who were constrained to serve in their persons,⁵ it was enacted that “notwithstanding these

¹ *Roll's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 89.

² *Seacome*, p. 383.

³ *Lex Scripta*, pp. 229, 235.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 202.

⁵ The number of quarterlands in the Island is 759.—*Quayle's Agriculture of the*

works were for the honour and security of the country, thenceforth any person so offending should forfeit a sum of sixpence to the Lord, for every such offence.”¹

The materials of stone, slate, and lime, used for such purposes, were produced on the Island, and a part of the wood imported—called custom timber—was retained for the Lord’s use.²

The castles were also supplied with provisions and fuel in a similar manner: “Whereas, heretofore every quarter of land hath been accustomed to pay every year a beefe into the Castle and Peele, which is above six hundred beeves a year. It is my desire that one hundred of the poor sort shall be spared every year, at the discretion of my captaine and the rest of my chief officers, and so to pay yearly 500 beeves, if the country like well of this my order, or els to pay as they have been accustomed heretofore, and I to be answered which of these ways the country will make choice of; provided always, that this shall not in any ways hinder or be prejudiciall, if any occasion of wars, or other causes, whereby I shall have occasion to send more number than my ordinary garrison for defence of the said Island; but that then provision may be according to the ancient lawes of my said Island, to have what is necessary.”³

Isle of Man, London, 1812, p. 134.—When money was substituted for labour, for every quarterland, two shillings, and for every intack, sixpence was required in lieu of carriage services. “This has fallen into disuse since 1773, when people began to refuse payment: and since the death of General Wood, about 1777, it does not appear to have been demanded.”—*Feltham*, p. 179. “In 1776, an act was passed to provide for the repairing of highways by statutory labour, founded on the old law for repairing the garrisons: thus the proprietor of each quarterland might be called to find the labour of twelve men to the roads in each year. The number of inferior holdings called cottages and intacks, paying quit-rent to the several lords of manors, was about 2,700. In proportion to the amount of quit-rent paid, the proprietor or occupier might be called upon for three, six, or twelve men each.”—*Lex Scripta*, pp. 392—395.

¹ *Statutes* 1645—1703; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 130, 202.

² *Statute* 1593; *Lex Scripta*, p. 88.

³ *Statutes* 1645; *Ordinance* of 1593; *Lex Scripta*, p. 88.

A clerk was appointed to sit within the gates of the castle with the porters and one of the hall-keepers, to receive the carriage, turff, and ling, and to mark the number received into the turff book, which was to be examined weekly by the comptroller: "that those who make default by bringing not the said turff, may for every carriage pay fourpence." A carriage consisted of "fifty two truves, one cubit long each, and three inches square in the midst."¹

At the accession of the House of Stanley to the sovereignty of Man, an ancient custom was given for law: "That for every fishing-boat on the coast, whether belonging to landholders, barons, officers, or soldiers, a castle maze should be paid out of every five maze, and so in proportion as such boat went to sea;" but by an act of Tynwald, in 1613, the tax was commuted to four mazes, from a countryman who kept a scowte, for the fishing season; strangers, however, were required to pay two mazes out of the first night's fishing, and a like number weekly; but for smaller boats only half that quantity was required.²

Every parish had, likewise, to pay *setting corn* to the castles. There were required to be kept in each castle, "xi bowles of maut ground, and xi bowles wheate, the maut to be laid upon the floor, and the wheate to be put into pipes;" and it was ordered, "that thirty cast of bread be made out of one bowle of wheate, and ten hogsheds of beer from nine bowles of maut; and that no chessel, brand, or grain go forth of the castle into any man's house before said brand be seen by the butler and two of the hall-keepers, nor till the bread be brought into the pantrie."

The receivers, stewards, cooks, and slaughtermen were

¹ *Statutes* 1561—1593; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 40, 86.

² *Statutes* 1422, 1613; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 4, 101. These statutes relative to the payment of herrings and turf to the castles, having become obsolete, were repealed in 1777.—*Lex Scripta*, p. 406.

also required to see, "that the beeves be brought into the castles, killed and salted, between Michaelmas and St. Andrew's day, so many as they shall need at the said castles till St. Andrew's day come again, except every week one beefe to be spent through the year; and the said beeves left unkilld of the stores, to remain in the hands of the richest men, and best farmers; and that they be charged to keep them upon double value of said beeves, until they be called for to the use of the said castles."¹

The receiver was neither to sell nor exchange hides without consent of the captain or comptroller, or his deputy and other officers; and the hides so sold or exchanged were to be examined by six of the soldiers, that the number of ox hides, and the number of cow hides might be ascertained; and the same was to be entered by the comptroller or his deputy, at the week's end, in the household books; and all hides exchanged for wares were to be examined in like manner.

No salt was to be received into the castles except by indenture between the receiver and the steward, and the same was to be delivered at the audit, with other accounts.² When a vessel arrived with merchandise, the constituted authorities and the military were supplied with the various articles required, before any purchase could be made for the use of private individuals: "The comptroller was to consult what was needful for the castles, and then to send

¹ *Statutes* 1422, 1561, 1593; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 18, 40, 41, 86. Besides receiving provisions for the garrison, it was enacted, "That our honourable Lord be victualled when he is here himself for as much as shall need to larder or expences to take, that is to say a cow or beefe, price iijs., at two head courts in the yeare of every sheading, two martes, the price of every mart ijs. iiijd.; and when the lieutenant is here, a mart every week, with other victuals, that is to say the price of a mart, iijs; a mutton, vjs; a porke, iijs; a lamb, jd; a kid, ob; a pig, jd; a goose, ob from Easter to Midsummer, and from Midsummer, jd; and this is by use and custome; and if you need more take more."—*Lex Scripta*, p. 16. The place of delivery was at *Ballavaaish*, in the parish of German, and hence its name, "the place of the cattle," and from their being slaughtered there, "the place of death."

² Old customary law first committed to writing in 1422; *ap. Lex Scripta*, p. 24.

for the receivers of both places, and have their farther advices, that my lord might have what was necessary or was his pleasure before any man."¹

The comptroller was also required, every Saturday, at Peel, "to take the steward, the cook, the brewer, and the butler, and charge them on their oaths, to give each a true account of the expences for the week past, upon pain of forfeiting his fees; and in like manner every Sunday at Castle Rushen," and all receipts were to be laid before the benchquire every Monday.²

By a regulation dated at Castle Rushen on the vigil of St. Mary, anno 1422, the following allowances were granted to the officers and soldiers of the garrison:—"It is ordained that the lieutenant have one loafe of breade and one gallon of ale, two candles in summer, and three in winter, and reasonable fuel every night from All Hallow-day till Easter, and iii men and one page, iii horses at hay, with xx bowles of oats at the lord's price. And the receivers to have a pottle of ale, half a loafe of breade, one candle in summer and ii in winter, and reasonable fyre in the same manner; and one man ii horses at hay and xii bowles of oats. The clerk of the rowles to have one quarte of beere, one candle in summer and ii in winter, and vi bowles of oats. The comptroller one quarte of beere, one candle in summer and ii in winter, one horse at hay, and six bowles of oats, with one page. The constables of both places a quarte of beere, half a loafe of breade, ii candles, fuel in winter reasonable, and ii truves a night in summer to search the watch; and the water-bayliffe to have as the receivers aforesaid, and no more liveries without special warrant from the lord." Item,

¹ *Statutes* 1523, 1561; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 36, 40, 42.

² *Statute* 1422; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 18, 24. "The comptroller to sitt by and see the delivery of the money, and write it; and when the payments are done, take the money and put it in a *pagge* and the lieutenant to seal it and put it into the chest that the books are in."

“ That there be no breakfasts allowed but to the captaine, receivers, comptrollers, hall-keepers, porters, and to the brewers, twice in the week at the discretion of the officers, and the said breakfast to be had within the house, but the reversion to be put into the almes tubb.” Item, “ That my lord’s almes be distributed at the gates, and that no pookes nor bagges be allowed.” Item, “ That no man sit at the high table, but those that have gentlemen’s wages, *save the comptroller*.” Item, “ That no soldier have meat or drink but at the Bell, except he hath been in my lord’s service.” Item, “ That at the drinking bell there be noe cannes of drink allowed but to the porters, two at the afternoon, and that they convey not the same out of the castle, upon paine of their office; and the watchmen to have a canne of beere to the watch.” Item, “ That none of the soldiers or officers shall have any liveries or allowances forth to their houses att any time from henceforward, except they be visited with sickness at least two days before, and so known to the head officers, and then by their discretion, to allow them honestly for a day, the third part of a tyld of beef, one mess of mutton, one canne of beere of two quarts, one loafe of breade for dinner, and the third part of a tyld of beefe, and a canne of beere of two quarts for supper.” Item, “ That no soldier of either castle have any truves allowed to their chambers out of my lord’s stores, but if they have any, to buy them.” Item, “ It is ordained that no soldier be taken into any of the castles or any place, or put out without the lorde’s knowledge. Also, that no soldier be received being of the one castle into the other, on pain of forfeiture of his fee, meat, and drink.”¹

No person could be admitted as a soldier into either of the castles, till he had provided himself with a bow and arrows, with a sufficient doublet or habergeon, a sword,

¹ *Statutes* 1422, 1561; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 22, 23, 25, 39, 43.

and buckler, spurs, and a saddle. In after-times, only a musket or *cavillier*, either with firelock or matchlock, was required.¹

Every soldier on his enlistment or admittance, was required to take an oath of allegiance to the king of England, an oath of faith, fidelity, and service to the right honourable the Earl of Derby; an oath of duty to the governor of the Island; and an oath of obedience to the constable of the castle, in all things lawful; and it was intimated to him, that on his dismissal, or at his death, his armour would become the property of the state, for the better defence of the Island. There being neither mayor, aldermen, nor recorder in any town in the Island, a delinquent, who had violated the law, was liable to be apprehended by the lord's officers and sent to any of the garrisons, blockhouses, or sconces under a guard of soldiers,² whose services on such occasions were remunerated as follows:—For taking a delinquent from the court of guard to prison *four pence*, for bringing any person (except moars) before the governor or deemster's court, if within three parishes, *one shilling*, with *four pence* additional for every parish they had to pass through afterwards.³ If a soldier either beat or took more fees from a prisoner than was allowed by law, he was tried for that offence by the constable of the castle, and not by the deemster, as in similar cases.⁴ No person was permitted to leave the castle without permission from the constable.⁵

No soldier was permitted to traffic without permission from the lord of the Island;⁶ nor to keep a leman within

¹ The soldiers of Scotland were in like manner required to provide their armour; and when called into active service, to carry provisions sufficient to serve them forty days.—*Abercromby's Martial Achievements of the Scots' Nation*, Edinburgh edition, 1762, vol. i, p. 211.

² *Camden's Britannia*, fol. 1695, p. 1062.

³ *Statute*, anno 1734; *Lex Scripta*, p. 261; *Mills's Ancient Ordinances*, p. 232.

⁴ *Statutes* 1422, 1561, 1594; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 17, 42, 75, 97.

⁵ *Statute* 1422; *Lex Scripta*, p. 23.

⁶ *Statutes* 1422, 1610; *Lex Scripta*, p. 23, 98, 99.

a mile of the castle, upon pain of forfeiting his fee. "Alsoe no soldier shall make any deputy within either castles, upon paine of forfeiting his fee, imprisonment of his body, and to make fine and ransome to the lord."

Either the master-gunner or his apprentice was required to remain nightly in the castle throughout the year, and as it was customary for the soldiers to ward the castle gates, each one day in the week, those of Castle Rushen were permitted to lie within the house the night before their warding day, and the soldiers of the Castle of Peel, to lie within the night before and the night after, "in respect of the tide falling out uncertainly, and for more safe guard of the castle, it being nearer our enemies, the *Goblan Marrey* or *Red Shanks*."

When the night bell was rung at sunset, it was the duty of the constable to proceed with the wardens to the gates of the castle and see them locked by the porter,¹ and the *arreyder* or watch forthwith set; after this, the gates were not allowed to be opened, except to the governor, till the watchman rung the day bell, which was to be done so soon as they could properly discern the landmarks bounded within a mile and a half of either castle. If no danger was apprehended, the gates were then opened, and the night sentinels relieved.²

When the alarm bell was rung, or the alarm drum

¹ These officers received fees for the detention of prisoners subject to the following regulations:—"If a man be brought to prison, the constable is to have no duty without he be arraigned at the bar; and the porter is to have no duty unless he have irons on—except servants, and then his duty is to have a groat of every such offender."—*Lex Scripta*, p. 38.

² *Statutes* 1422, 1610; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 26, 98. In time of war, a sentinel constantly stood on the battlements: his business was to cry aloud at certain intervals, so as to convince the enemy without that the garrison was not to be taken by surprise. The Norwegians called this sentinel *Gok-man*. He was obliged by the rules of his office to deliver all he had to communicate in extemporary rhymes.—*Macpherson's Dissertations*, Edinburgh edition, p. 325. A large horn full of spirituous liquor stood always beside him to strengthen his voice and keep up his spirits. Torfæus says this practice was continued down to a late period in the Western Isles.—*History of the Orcaades*, p. 8.

sounded, every soldier was to make his appearance at the castle gate, in readiness to receive his orders. It was the duty of the comptroller "to call them forth suddenly to muster." They were paid quarterly by the receivers who deposited the remaining money in a chest, and locked it with four keys, of which one was kept by the lieutenant, one by each of the receivers, and the fourth by the comptroller.¹ These soldiers were named *Feedmen*; and in the time of peace generally numbered about two thousand men.²

It was also enacted in 1422, "that all officers governe their offices, as their charge is that noe pride nor presumption make dissencon amongst them and their service the worse done, but all draw one way, to that which should be profit to the lord, and all dissencon left from thenceforth upon paine of forfeiture of their fee and discharging of their office."³

Beside the garrison soldiers, there was a militia consisting of four men from every parish, and a troop of parochial yeomanry—a force yet enrolled agreeably to ancient form. Every male inhabitant, between the age of sixteen and sixty, was liable to serve in the militia, with the exception of the twenty-four Keys, the moars and their runners, the coroners, lockmen, customers and searchers, with one chief miller, and one smith, in every parish; but when invasion was apprehended, even these persons were not exempted from "the duty of watch and ward."⁴

An officer of the rank of major-general, had the immediate superintendence of the militia: he had under his command three majors and seventeen officers, denominated captains of parishes, who were appointed by the governor,

¹ *Lex Scripta*, p. 26.

² *Challoner's Description*, cap. vi; *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, pages 82, 83.

³ *Lex Scripta*, pp. 17, 18.

⁴ *Statute 1595; Customary Statutes*, folio 10, 46, 51.

himself captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the forces in the Island.¹

The pay of the *sidoor* or regular soldier was five pounds per annum; the militia did not receive any pay, and they were commonly armed and clothed at their own expense.*² The dress of the Manks soldiery in the time of the English commonwealth, was a green jerkin, without a collar or cape;³ but it was afterwards fashioned according to the military costume of England.⁴ In the time of Sacheverell, who was governor from 1692 to 1696, the armed militia of the Island amounted to two thousand men, independent of the regular feed-soldiers maintained for the two garrisons.⁵

Waldron thus speaks of the military, in his time, (1712—1730):—"The officers and soldiery, who receive their commissions and pay from the Lord of Man, are extremely courteous, rather endeavouring to do all good offices they can, than in the least exerting any authority. 'Tis owing to their compassion that the poor criminals sentenced by the spiritual court to that loathsome dungeon under the chapel of Peel have generally the liberty

¹ *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, edit. 1702, p. 2.

* Appendix, Note vii, "Fire Arms Hereditary."

² *Feltham's Tour*, pp. 43, 44; *Seacombe's History*, 1741, p. 604.

³ A portrait of William Christian, who was executed for treason, is still preserved in the family of Watterson, of Ballanahow, of Kirk Christ Rushen. He is represented in the military dress of his time, as above described. The late Mr. J. M'Crone, her Majesty's commissioner for woods and forests in the Isle of Man, kindly favoured me with an account of this portrait, which I forwarded to Sir Walter Scott, by whom it was afterwards given to the public.—See *Waverley Novels*, vol. xxviii, p. 200.

⁴ "The English soldiers were distinguished by the armorial bearings of their leaders. The general colour of their dresses appears to have been white, though in 1544, a part of the forces of Henry VIII were ordered to be dressed in blue coats guarded with red without *badges*, the right hose to be red and the left blue. In 1584, Elizabeth ordered the cassocks of the soldiers sent to Ireland to be of a sod green or russet, though the cloaks of the cavalry were red. In 1693, the dresses of the soldiers were grey, and those of the drummers purple. The red uniform was adopted in the reign of Queen Anne."—*History of British Costume*, 1834, p. 327.

⁵ *Oswald*, p. 19.

of the castle. In fine, they are not only the best bred and most conversable men in the Island, but likewise, generally speaking, the least vicious, in spite of the little respect they pay to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction."¹

During the wars of the French revolution, the military establishment of the Island consisted of a volunteer corps, with two battalions of native fencibles,² raised by voluntary enlistment, and paid at the rate of British soldiers.

Surrounded as Mona formerly was by enemies ready to seize every opportunity of making inroads to carry off or destroy whatever fell in their way, the duty of watch and ward was of the highest importance. It was therefore enacted that in cases of actual invasions, or, "as oft as appearance be of any ship or pirates, or any other invasion of enemies, every person or persons within this Isle, shall, upon the alarm of the drum, or the setting of the colours on the castle, appear to encounter the enemy upon pain of present-death;" and when it became necessary to guard the coast, it was ordered, "that all watches and wardes upon the poastes and coasts of the sea be well and duly kept, and whosoever fails the fust night, forfeiteth a wedder to the warden, and the second night a cow, and the third night life and lyme to the lord."³

Such were the military establishments and laws of the Island at its revestment. Since that period, her Britannic Majesty has the appointment of all the officers.

¹ *Description of the Isle of Man*, folio 141.

² The first was raised in February, 1793, and consisted of 300 rank and file. The second was raised in 1796, and consisted of ten companies. The uniform of both these regiments was red, with blue facings.—*Feltham*, p. 21. The latter regiment served in Ireland during the rebellion of 1798. It was observed during the late war that while the Manks soldier was surpassed in height by the British and Irish troops, any company of the Manks fencibles covered a greater space of ground than the same number of men belonging to other regiments.—*Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Isle of Man."

³ *Statutes* 1422, 1594; *Lex Scripta*, pp. 2, 5, 17, 71, 73, 74, 76.

John Duke of Atholl was governor from the year 1793, till his death in 1830. In his absence, the lieutenant-governor was vested with his authority, and performed the duties of his office.*

Since the death of the Duke of Atholl, no appointment of a governor-in-chief has been made. General John Ready is at present lieutenant-governor, and is invested with all the rights and privileges, whether respecting his civil authority or military command, which were formerly possessed by any governor-in-chief. In his civil capacity he is the *staff of government*, and as such presides in all the legislative courts. In his military office he is captain-general of all the troops and constabulary force in the Island.

* Appendix, Note viii, "Defence of Island and List of Governors."

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER X.

NOTE I.—PAGE 268.

GREEN MOUNDS OF GALLOWAY.

The following is an extract from a communication which I made to Sir Walter Scott, on this subject, dated Castle Douglas, 13th April, 1831. "There are eight farms in this quarter named *Ingleston*, situate in the following parishes, two in New Abbey, two in Kelton, one in Irongray, one in Twynholm, one in Borgue, and one in Glencairn. On each of these farms there is a moat, under the top surface of which I have recently found a stratum of charred oak. From this I am convinced that each of these farms has derived its name from the mound, as *Ingleston* in the Gaelic signifies 'the place of the fire.' Beacons, you know, were frequently kindled along the shores of Galloway in times of danger (*Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 242); but the *Ingleston* moats are generally so secluded as not to warrant even a conjecture that the fires kindled on them were for the purpose of alarming the country. Is it not more likely that these fires were kindled annually on the first of May in honour of the Scandinavian God Baal?"

"Amongst the Saxons, the Wittenagemote was the name given to their popular assemblies. The *mote* was of the same use with them as the *hof* and *ting* were to the Northmen of the Orkneys and the Isle of Man."—*Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1832.

NOTE II.—PAGE 273.

DANISH TINGWALL COURTS.

One of these ancient courts is thus described by Martin:—"Holm is in the parish of Tingwall in the mainland. This holm is an island in the middle of a freshwater lake. It is to this day called the *Saw-ting*; and the parish, in all probability, had its name from it. The entrance to the holm is by some stones laid in the water, and in the holm there are four great stones, upon which sat the judge, clerk, and other officers of the court. The inhabitants, who had lawsuits, attended at some distance

from the holm on the other side of the lake, and when any of them was called by the officer, he entered by the stepping stones. This was the custom of the Danes. The inhabitants have a tradition amongst them that after one had received sentence of death upon the holm, he obtained a remission, provided he made his escape through the crowd of people on the lake side and touched the Tinwall stone before any could lay hold of him."—*Martin's Description of the Western Isles of Scotland*, London, 1703, p. 383.

NOTE III.—PAGE 279.

LEGEND OF THE MODDEY DOO.

This castle is the scene of a strange tradition, which, as it may amuse the reader, I give in the author's own words. "There was formerly a passage to the apartment belonging to the captain of the guard; but it is now closed up: the reason they give you for it is a pretty odd one. They say that an apparition, called in the Manks language, the *Moddey Doo*, in the shape of a large black spaniel, with curled shaggy hair, was used to haunt Peel Castle; and has been frequently seen in every room, but particularly in the guard-chamber, where, as soon as the candles were lighted, it came and lay down before the fire, in presence of the soldiers, who at length, by being so much accustomed to the sight of it, lost great part of the terror they were seized with at its first appearance. They still, however, retained a certain awe, as believing it was an evil spirit, which only waited permission to do them hurt; and, for that reason, forbore swearing, and profane discourse, while in its company. But though they endured the shock of such a guest when altogether in a body, none cared to be left alone with it. It being the custom, therefore, for one of the soldiers to lock the gates of the castle at a certain hour, and carry the keys to the captain, to whose apartment the way led through the church, they agreed among themselves that whoever was to succeed the ensuing night his fellow in this errand, should accompany him that went first, and by this means no man would be exposed singly to danger: for I forgot to mention, that the *Moddey Doo* was always seen to come out from that passage at the close of day, and return to it again as soon as morning dawned; which made them look on this place as its peculiar residence. One night a fellow being drunk, and by the strength of his liquor rendered more daring than ordinarily, laughed at the simplicity of his companions; and although it was not his turn to go with the keys, would needs take that office upon him, to testify his courage. All the soldiers endeavoured to dissuade him; but the more they said, the more resolute he seemed, and swore that he desired nothing more than that the *Moddey Doo* would follow him as it had done the others, for he would try whether it were dog or devil.

"After having talked in a very reprobate manner for some time, he snatched up the keys, and went out of the guard-room. In some time after his departure, a great noise was heard, but nobody had the boldness to see what occasioned it, till, the adventurer returning, they demanded the knowledge of him; but as loud and noisy as he had been at leaving them, he was now become sober and silent enough; for he was never heard to speak more: and though all the time he lived, which was

three days, he was entreated by all who came near him to speak, or if he could not do that to make some signs, by which they might understand what had happened to him, yet nothing intelligible could be got from him, only that, by the distortions of his limbs and features, it might be guessed that he died in agonies more than is common in a natural death. The *Moddey Doo* was however, never after seen in the castle, nor would any one attempt to go through that passage; for which reason it was closed up, and another way made. This accident happened about three-score years since." That is about the year 1650.—*Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, 1731.

This tale is alluded to by Sir Walter Scott, in his *Lay of the Last Minstrel*.

"But none of all the astonished train
Were so dismayed as Deloraine;
His blood did freeze, his brain did burn,
'Twas feared his mind would ne'er return,
For he was speechless, ghastly, wan,
Like him of whom the story ran,
That spake the spectre hound in Man."

Peel Castle derives much of its present celebrity from the publicity given by Sir Walter Scott to Waldron's story of the spectre hound and to other legends, of which this ancient garrison is supposed to have been the scene. The old military invalid, who conducted me to these ruins, had no sooner entered their venerable precincts than he thus began:—"Perhaps you may have heard of a great writer who has lately gone the way of all living, his name was Sir Walter Scott: although he resided somewhere in Scotland, people say he knew as much about this here old garrison as if he had been born within its ramparts. Hundreds of persons come here yearly from all parts of the world, who call impatiently to be shewn the Earl of Warwick's chamber, the Duchess of Gloucester's dungeon, and more particularly the haunted guard-room mentioned by Sir Walter Scott." I then asked him for what purpose so many sod tables and benches were made and arranged like the seats of a tap-room, throughout the castle yard. He said these seats were erected by himself for the accommodation of pleasure parties who, while they employed their glasses, drank to the memory of Sir Walter Scott, in which he most heartily joined, "having received many a shilling on account of pointing out the place alluded to by that great man." I might have shortened the old man's narration by telling him I knew all he could mention of Sir Walter Scott and the Castle already; but adopted on this occasion the recommendation of Sir Walter himself to his companions when about to visit the famous chapel of Rosslyn, "I allowed the old cicerone to proceed in his usual way, otherwise he would have been unhappy."—See *Lockhart's Life of Scott*, first edition, vol. i, page 362.

As might have been expected, Peel Castle and its associations have been the subject of many pleasing poetical effusions. I conclude this note by an extract from Lines, on this subject, by Mr. G. H. Wood:—

"There is not a spot in Mona's Isle
Has purer charms for me,
Than yonder lonely, mouldering pile,
Which beams in the bright sun's parting smile,
Ere he sinks to the Western sea.
'Tis a hallowed spot, with its turrets of light
That gleam on the glassy wave,
Where its image is mirror'd so calm and bright,
You would think it the work of Enchanter's might,
Rais'd up from the ocean's grave."

"But roofless now is that holy pile,
 And its arches are rent and riven;
 Yet, I love to tread its lonely aisle,
 Where the footfall only is heard the while,
 And muse on the things of heaven.
 I love to stray in the holy fane,
 Where rest the sleeping dead,
 Where they for ages long have lain,
 And slept the sleep that knows no pain,
 Each in his grassy bed !

"I love to explore the ruins around,
 And the Castle's lone dungeon cells,
 Where the royal lady¹ lay fetter'd and bound,
 (Till lingering death her chain unwound,
 Accus'd of dark magic spells;
 And the room near the dim portcullis door,
 Where the night-watch oft was scar'd
 By the 'Spectre Hound,' so fam'd of yore,
 As told in his Lay of Minstrel lore,
 By Scotia's brightest bard."

¹ Duchess of Gloucester.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 279.

ROUND TOWERS.

The round pillar towers of Ireland, amounting to upwards of fifty, continue to attract alike the attention of the curious and the dissertations of the learned: they have survived all historical evidence as to the date of their erection, or the primitive use to which they were designed. Tradition, however, ascribes the erection of the round tower of Antrim to Gobban Saer, or "Gobban the Builder," who is supposed to have flourished in the sixth century.—*Dublin Journal*, 1833. The round towers of Abernethy and Brechan, in Scotland, are ascribed to the Picts, (*Gordon, ap. Grose's Antiquities of Scotland*, edition 1797, vol ii, pp. 251, 252, 262, 263) and the round pillar tower of Holme Peel, being of similar construction and of the same style of architecture, may justly be supposed to be, likewise, of Danish origin. It is supposed to be much older than any of the other towers of Peel Castle, except the parapet, which seems to have been built at the same time with the Castle. It has really the appearance of having been constructed for a watch-tower, notwithstanding such an idea being thus scouted by the editor of an Irish periodical, as applied to the round towers of Ireland:—"That our pillar towers were watch-towers or fire-temples are the whimsies of disordered minds or the vile theories of those, who, from singularity, affect superior knowledge."

The round tower of Peel, like those of Ireland and Scotland, being erected near an ancient place of worship, may have served the twofold purpose of religion and defence, as supposed by Mr. Petrie in his "Essay on the round towers of Ireland,"

for which he received £50 and a gold medal from the Royal Irish Academy in 1832; £20 was likewise awarded to Mr. Henry O'Brien for his work on the same subject, published by Whittaker and Co., London. Before closing this note, it may not be far out of place to mention the extraordinary ruins so frequently met with in the highlands of Scotland and in Galloway, which have received the appellation of "vitrified forts," and which are no where to be observed in the Isle of Man. If they had been constructed for the purpose of watch and ward, as supposed by Sir George McKenzie, Dr. Hibbert, and others, or if they "had been beacons where great signal fires were lighted on occasion of alarm," certainly some traces of them would be yet discernible along the line of the alarm stations of the Isle of Man, as it was more exposed to the inroads of foreigners than either the highlands of Scotland or Galloway; but these remains of former ages, having survived all history and tradition, seem even to defy all conjecture as to the period of their erection or the object for which they were designed.

NOTE V.—PAGE 285.

THE HOME OF THE SPELL-BOUND GIANTS.

"There is an apartment," says Waldron, "in the Castle of Rushen, that has never been opened in the memory of man. The persons belonging to the castle are very cautious in giving any reason for it; but the natives unconnected with the castle, assign this, that there is something of enchantment in it. They tell you that the castle was at first inhabited by fairies, and afterwards by giants, who continued in the possession of it till the days of Merlin, who, by the force of magic, dislodged the greatest part of them, and bound the rest of them in spells, indissoluble to the end of the world. In proof of this they tell you a very odd story: They say there are a great many fine apartments under ground, exceeding in magnificence any of the upper rooms. Several men of more than ordinary courage have, in former times, ventured down to explore the secrets of this subterranean dwelling place, but none of them ever returned to give an account of what they saw. It was therefore judged expedient that all the passages to it should be continually shut, that no more might suffer by their temerity. About some fifty or fifty-five years since, a person possessed of uncommon boldness and resolution begged permission to visit these dark abodes. He at length obtained his request, went down, and returned by the help of a clue of packthread which he took with him, which no man before himself had ever done, and brought this amazing discovery:—'That after having passed through a great number of vaults, he came into a long narrow place; which the farther he penetrated, he perceived that he went more and more on a descent: till having travelled, as near as he could guess, for the space of a mile, he began to see a gleam of light, which, though it seemed to come from a vast distance, was the most delightful object he ever beheld. Having at length arrived at the end of that lane of darkness, he perceived a large and magnificent house, illuminated with many candles, whence proceeded the light which he had seen. Having, before he began the expedition, well fortified himself with brandy, he had courage enough to knock at the door, which on

the third knock, was opened by a servant who asked him what he wanted? I would go as far as I can, replied our adventurer: be so kind therefore as to direct me how to accomplish my design, for I see no passage but that dark cavern through which I came. The servant told him he must go through that house; and accordingly led him through a long entry, and out at a back door. He then walked a considerable way, till he beheld another house more magnificent than the first; and, all the windows being open, discovered innumerable lamps burning in every room.

Here also he designed to knock, but had the curiosity to step on a little bank which commanded a view of a low parlour, and, looking in, he beheld a vast table in the middle of the room, and on it extended at full length a man, or rather monster, at least fourteen feet long, and ten or twelve round the body. This prodigious fabric lay as if sleeping with his head upon a boal, with a sword by him, answerable to the hand which he supposed made use of it. This sight was more terrifying to our traveller than all the dark and dreary mansions through which he had passed. He resolved, therefore, not to attempt an entrance into a place inhabited by persons of such monstrous stature, and made the best of his way back to the other house, where the same servant who reconducted him informed him that if he had knocked at the second door he would have seen company enough, but could never have returned. On which he desired to know what place it was, and by whom possessed; the other replied that these things were not to be revealed. He then took his leave, and by the same dark passage got into the vaults, and soon afterwards once more ascended to the light of the sun.' Ridiculous as the narrative appears, whoever seems to disbelieve it, is looked on as a person of weak faith."—*Description of the Isle of Man*, London edit., folio, 1731, pp. 98—100.

NOTE VI.—PAGE 285.

THE BLACK LADY OF CASTLE RUSHEN.

"A mighty bustle they make of an apparition which they say haunts *Castle Rushen* in the form of a woman, who was, some years since, executed for the murder of her child. I have heard not only persons who have been confined there for debt, but also the soldiers of the garrison, affirm they have seen it at various times; but what I took most notice of, was the report of a gentleman of whose good understanding, as well as veracity, I have a very great opinion. He told me, that happening to be abroad late one night, and caught in an excessive storm of wind and rain, he saw a woman standing before the castle gate, where, being not the least shelter, it something surprised him, that anybody, much less one of that sex, should not rather run to some little porch or shed, of which there are several in *Castletown*, than chuse to stand still, exposed and alone to such a dreadful tempest; his curiosity exciting him to draw nearer, that he might discover who it was that seemed so little to regard the fury of the elements; but as he proceeded, she retreated, and at last he thought she went into the castle, though the gates were shut. This obliging him to think he had seen a spirit, he went home very much terrified; but next day, on relating his adven-

ture to some people who lived in the castle, and describing as near as he could the garb and stature of the apparition, they told him it was that of the woman above mentioned, who had been frequently seen by the soldiers on guard to pass in and out of the gates of the castle, though they were locked and bolted, as well as to walk through the rooms, though there was no visible way of entering. But though she is so familiar to the eye of the inmates of the castle, no person has, yet however, had the courage to speak to her; and as they say a spirit has no power to reveal its mind without being conjured to do so in a proper manner, the reason of her being permitted to wander is unknown."—*Waldron*, pp. 136, 137.

NOTE VII.—PAGE 296.

FIRE-ARMS HEREDITARY.

Warlike weapons were heritable in the year 1419. It was given for law that the son should inherit his father's jack and sallet, his bowe and arrows, and his sword and buckler. But in the year 1747, it was enacted "That from henceforth it shall be lawful for all landholders, being protestants, to purchase themselves fire-arms, and each to keep a fire-lock, as well for the protection of their own houses and families, as for the service and defence of their country upon all emergent occasions, provided always they kept them clean and in good order at the sight of the captains of the respective parishes and towns in their several divisions, who for that end and purpose are to call them forth with their arms, at least four times a year and report their condition to the governor: and that the said arms shall go and descend to their heirs and assigns in place of the ancient weapons of war called *corbes*, mentioned in the statute provided in that behalf, and be deemed full recompense and satisfaction for the same."—*Statute 1747; Lex Scripta*, p. 319.

NOTE VIII.—PAGE 298.

DEFENCE OF THE ISLAND AND LIST OF GOVERNORS.

On this subject a recent writer remarks "It is a curious fact that during the long period of the late war, when a single privateer might have ravaged the Island or laid either of the towns in ashes, before any assistance could be afforded from England, yet no care was taken to organize those means of defence which were easily within reach of the inhabitants. It is true that at every commanding point there were cannon; but they lay dismounted and useless, though at the same time Government was paying an ordnance keeper. Immediately, however, at the conclusion of peace,

an engineer was sent over to build batteries, mount cannon, and arrange stores and ammunition, as if it was apprehended that when all the rest of Europe was restored to tranquillity, the arms of the united potentates would be turned against the little Isle of Man.—*Bullock's History of the Isle of Man*, pp. 355, 356. Feltham, who visited the Island in 1797, forms a somewhat different opinion. He says—Ramsey was then protected from foreign enemies by a fort and several pieces of cannon.—*Tour through the Island of Man*, p. 162.

At the beginning of the following catalogue, which is transcribed from a record in the Rolls' Office of the Castle of Rushen, I have inserted in italics the name of Michael Blundell, who was Governor of the Island in 1407, although I have not found his name given in any published list. Camden, however, distinctly states that he was appointed Governor by Sir John Stanley, when he received a grant of the Island from king Henry IV, and he gives a detail of his government (*See Britannia*, edition 1695, p. 1065) he is also mentioned in the *Lex Scripta* (p. 17) as being the first who committed the laws of the Island to writing. He will be again referred to in chapter xix.

A CATALOGUE OF THE GOVERNORS OF THE ISLE OF MAN,

FROM THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF STANLEY TO THE PRESENT TIME.

<i>Michael Blundell, Lieut.</i> ....A.D. 1407	Richard Aderton was admitted and	
John Letherland, Lieut..... 1410	sworn Lieut. under the Capt.,	} 1591
John Fasakerly, Lieut..... 1418	by my Lord's directions, for all	
John Walton, Lieut. 1422	martial affairs	
Henry Byron, Lieut. 1428	Cuth. Gerrard, Capt.	} 1592
Peter Dutton, Lieut. 1496	Thomas Mortimer, Deputy	
Henry Radcliff, Abbot of Rushen, } 1497	The Hon. Wm. Stanley, Capt.,	} 1593
Deputy	afterwards Earl of Derby	
Randolph Rushton, Captn. 1505	Randolph Stanley, Capt..... 1594	
Sir John Ireland, Kt.-Lieut. 1508	Thos. Gerrard, ¹ Knt.-Capt.	} 1596
John Ireland, Lieut..... 1516	Cuth. Gerrard, Deputy.....	
Randolph Rushton, Captn. 1517	Thomas Gerrard, Kt.-Capt	} 1597
Thos. Denisport, Captn. 1519	Robt. Molineux, Deputy	
Richard Holt, Lieut. 1526	Cuth. Gerrard, Capt.....	} 1599
John Fleming, Capt. 1529	Robt. Molineux, Deputy	
Thos. Sherbourn, Lieut..... 1530	Robt. Molineux, Capt..... 1600	
Henry Bradley, Deputy-Lieut. .. 1532	John Ireland, ² Lieut. and Capt.. 1610	
Henry Stanley, Capt. 1533	Robt. Molineux, Capt..... 1612	
Thos. Stanley, Kt.-Lieut. 1537	Edw. Fletcher, Deputy..... 1621	
George Stanley, Capt..... 1539	Edw. Fletcher, Governor..... 1622	
Thos. Tyldesley, Deputy..... 1540	Sir Fred. Liege, Kt.-Capt. 1623	
Wm. Stanley, Deputy..... 1544	Edw. Fletcher, Deputy	1625
Henry Stanley, Capt..... 1552	Edw. Homewood, Capt..... 1626	
Thos. Stanley, Kt.-Lieut. 1562	Edw. Fletcher, Deputy	1627
Richard Ashton, Capt. 1566	Edw. Christian, Lieut. and Capt. 1628	
Thos. Stanley, Kt.-Lieut. 1567	Evan Christian, Deputy..... 1634	
Edward Tarbock, Capt. 1569	Sir Chas. Gerrard, Knt.-Capt. .. 1635	
John Hanmer, Capt. 1575	John Sharples, Deputy	1636
Richard Sherburn, Capt..... 1580	Radcliffe Gerrard, Capt..... 1639	

¹ Peter Legh was appointed Governor, by Queen Elizabeth, in the absence of Sir T. Gerrard.

² In 1609, John Ireland and John Birchall were Governors, jointly, by patent, from King James I.

John Greenhalgh, Governor	1640	Col. Nicholas Sankey, Governor	1696
Philip Mulgrave, Knt. and Bart. ¹	1651	Hon. Capt. Cranston, Governor..	
Saml. Smith, Deputy-Governor..	1652	Robt. Mawdesley, Esq., Governor	} 1703
<i>Note.</i> —My Lord Fairfax made		John Rowe, Deputy.....	
commissioners for the governing	} 17th Aug. 1652	Capt. Alex. Horne, Governor....	1714
the Isle this year—James Chal-		Major Floyd, Governor.....	
loner, Robt. Dinley, Esquires,		Thomas Horton, Governor.....	1726
Jonath. Wilton, clerk.....		James Horton	1734
Mathew Cadwell, Governor	1653	James Murray, Esq., first Gover-	} 1735
William Christian, Governor	1656	nor under the Duke of Atholl...	
James Challoner	1659	Patrick Lindsay	1741
AFTER THE RESTORATION.			
Rodger Nowell, Governor.....	} 1660	Basil Cochrane, Esq., Governor...	1753
Richd. Stephenson, Deputy		Capt. John Wood, Governor.....	1763
Henry Nowell, Deputy for one	} 1663	The Island sold to the Crown, ..	} 1765
part of the year, and Thomas		J. Hope, Deputy-Governor	
Stanley for the other part		Richard Dawson, Lieut.-Governor	1776
Bishop Barrow, Governor.....	} 1664	Edw. Smith, Esq., Gov.-in-Chief	} 1777
Henry Nowell, his Deputy		Richard Dawson, Lieutenant.....	
Henry Nowell, Governor	1669	Alexander Shaw, Esq., Lieutenant	1791
Henry Stanley, Governor	1677	His Grace the Duke of Atholl,	} 1793
Robert Heywood, Governor	1678	Governor-in-Chief	
Roger Kenyon, Esq., Governor..	1691	Col. Cornelius Smelt, Lieutenant..	1805
Will. Sacheverell, Governor.....	1692	General John Ready, Lieutenant..	1832

¹ In 1661 and 1662, Col. Robert Duckenfield was Governor.

CHAPTER XI.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 76 TO 839.

Introduction of Druidism into Britain—The Druids leave Stonehenge and settle in Anglesea—On their Altars being overturned and their Groves being cut down by the Romans, they retire into the Isle of Man—Office, Dress, and Power of the Arch-Druid—Their Places of Worship and Ceremonies—Anniversary of Bal or Baal and other superstitious Observances—Persecution of the Christians—Arrival of St. Patrick in the Isle of Man—Converts the Inhabitants to the Christian Faith—Succeeded by St. Germain—Maughold, a Leader of Irish Banditti, becomes Bishop of Man—St. Bridget, one of the tutelar Saints of Ireland, receives the Veil of Virginity from St. Maughold—Scottish Princes educated by St. Conan, Bishop of Man—An Irish Prince nearly starved to death—Singular Adventure of Orlygus.

THE first Celtic colony that settled in Britain is represented to have come from Asia, and to have introduced Druidism into our Island.¹ After the irruptions of the Belgæ and the farther encroachments of the Romans, the Druids retired from their magnificent seat at Albury and from their circular uncovered temple at Stonehenge, on Salisbury plain, to the Isle of Anglesea,² where their altars being overturned and their groves cut down by the victorious Romans, they took refuge in the Isle of Man.³

The well known aversion of the Druids themselves to written records and the prejudices entertained against them by ancient authors, to whom alone we are now

¹ *Plowden's Dissertation on the Antiquity of Irish History*, London, 1831, p. 47.

² *Davis's Antiquity of the Druidical Order among the Celts*, pp. 139, 197; *Buck's Theological Dictionary*, London, 1827.

³ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805, vol. i, page 60; *Beithius's History of Scotland*, folio 22; *Spottiswood's History of the Church of Scotland*, page 3.

indebted for any information regarding their institutions and ceremonies, render our relations but partial and unsatisfactory.

All writers on the subject agree as to the supreme authority which they exercised over all men among whom they obtained an establishment, and the exclusive rights they assumed. They were exempt from bearing arms or contributing in any way to the exigencies of the state, and their persons were reputed sacred and inviolable.¹ These privileges allured many to enter their fraternity and to take upon themselves the performance of their sacred duties.

There were several orders or degrees of the priesthood, to obtain the highest of which required twenty years study.² The first was *Disgibliysbas*, and was given after three years study in the arts of poetry and music, if the person by his capacity and diligence merited such an honour. The second degree was *Disgibldisgybliaidd*, and was conferred on the professors of learning after six years additional study, if they deserved it. The third degree, with another long name, required nine years more; and the fourth or highest degree with a name signifying "doctor," was only bestowed two years afterwards on the completion of the study of the whole twenty years.

Each order was distinguished by a particular habit, some reaching the calf of the leg, and others somewhat lower. The bards wore a coloured robe of sky blue as emblematical of peace. The Welsh bard, Cynddelw, in his ode on the death of Cadwallon, calls them "wearers of long blue robes."³

The professors of astronomy and medicine wore green as a symbol of learning, and as being the colour of the

¹ Camden's *Britannia*, folio, edition 1695, p. 14.

² Toland's *History of the Druids*, London, 1726, pp. 11, 190, 191.

³ Owen's *Elegies of Llywarch Hen*, ap. *History of British Costume*, London, 1834, pp. 11, 12; Buck's *Theological Dictionary*, London, 1827; see Druid.

clothing of nature. The disciples of the orders wore variegated dresses of the three colours, blue, green, and red;¹ and the dress of the sacerdotal order was white, the emblem of holiness and truth. The Welsh bard, Taliesin, calls it, "the proud white garment which separated the elders from the youth." The chiefs of the order were the only exception from the rule, they always wore short hair, whilst other people had theirs long, and on the contrary they wore long beards, while the laity preserved only the hair on the upper lip.²

Among this race of men, one person was commonly chosen with the title of Arch-Druid, to whom the supreme government of the fraternity was committed.³ He wore on his head an oaken garland surmounted by a tiara of gold, while on his breast was suspended the fabulous adderstone⁴ amulet, enchased in gold. When at the altar he wore a white surplice fastened on the shoulder by a golden brooch.⁵ He had also the privilege of wearing six colours in his robe or breacan,⁶ whereas the king and queen might only wear seven, the lords and ladies five, governors of castles four, chieftains and officers of the army three, common soldiers and common people only

¹ A disciple about to be admitted a graduate, is called by the bards, "A dog with spots of red, blue, and green."—*Meyrick's Original Inhabitants*.

² *Ap. Planche's History of British Costume*, London, 1834, p. 11.

³ *Camden's Britannia*, p. 19.

⁴ The virtues of the Adderstone were supposed to be connected with the popular credulity of its origin from serpents—those mystical animals holding such a noted place in ancient mythology. "That not only the vulgar, but even gentlemen of good education, throughout all Scotland, were fully persuaded that snakes made them." It is remarked by an English visitor in the year 1699, "That the adderstone was suspended from the neck, for the hooping-cough and other distempers in children. It was esteemed a charm to ensure prosperity, and a repeller of evil spirits. The owner kept it in an iron box as a security from fairies, which were supposed to have a peculiar aversion to it."—*Dalyell's Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1835, page 140. One of these magical gems is in my possession.

⁵ *Archæologia*, vol. iv; *King's Munimenta Antiqua Collectanea de Rebus Hiberniis*, vol. iv; *ap. British Costume*, London, 1834, pp. 12, 13.

⁶ *M'Alpine's Gaelic Dictionary*, Edinburgh, 1833, p. 45.

one.¹ But in process of time, particularly in the highlands of Scotland, the admixtures of colours, served only to denote the family of the wearer of the parti-coloured garment. The Arch-Druid, or as he is called in Manks, the *Ard-Druaigh*, is always represented with a golden bill-hook in his hand, an implement which he used in tearing down the mistletoe from the oak.²

So highly were the Manks Druids distinguished for their knowledge of astronomy, astrology, and natural philosophy, that the kings of Scotland sent their sons to be educated by them. About the year A.D. 76, Dothan, son of Duntus, the eleventh king of Scotland, left his three sons, Lisimories, Gormachus, and Edenus, to be educated by the Druids in the Isle of Man.³

In the year 81, Corbed Gald,⁴ son of Corbed I, king of Scotland, was likewise educated by the Druids in the Isle of Man. But notwithstanding all their pretensions to scientific knowledge, no species of superstition was ever more terrible, and no idolatrous worship ever gained such an ascendancy over mankind as that of the Druids.

The usual dwelling place of the contemplative Druid, when his oak could not shelter him from the storm, was a little stone building capable of holding himself only; yet some of larger dimensions are to be seen in the Isle of Skye and in Ireland, where they are called by the natives, *Tinan Druinich*, or Druids' houses.⁵ In the romantic recess of a rock at the bold promontory of Spanish Head, may still be traced the remains of the dwelling "of a lonely Druid, who probably fixed his hermitage there on account of the sublimity of the situation."⁶

¹ Toland's *History of the Druids*, London, 1736, p. 21.

² Pomponius Mela, lib. iii, cap. ii; Ammianus, book xv.

³ Buchanan's *History of Scotland*, vol. i, book iv; Hollinshead's *Chronicles of Scotland*, edition 1805; Anderson's *Royal Genealogies*, London, 1735, p. 735.

⁴ Abercromby's *Martial Achievements*, edit. 1762, vol. i, p. 60.

⁵ Toland's *History of the Druids*, London, 1726, p. 107.

⁶ Oswald's *Guide to the Isle of Man*, p. 92.

In the Isle of Man, their sacred groves and consecrated fountains are yet marked out by their Celtic names, of which the sequestered valleys of Druidale—*Glen-darragh*, the vale of oaks—*Cabbal Druaig*—*Lhiarghey-ny-howne*, the mark of the stream—and *Thallov-ny-charne*, the place of the stones, may be named as clearly pointing out their Druidical origin; and *Kion-druaigh*, in the parish of Kirk Michael, which, in the Manks language, signifies Chief-Druid, probably still retains that name from having been the residence of the Arch-Druid of the Island.

The Druid temple was composed of large stones placed erect at an equal distance, so as to form a circle, generally between twenty and thirty feet in diameter, with a flat stone in the centre, on which the sacrifice was offered up. In the parish of Arbory some of these circles are yet seen; many of the stones are of great size, but are now, in several instances, nearly covered with moss.

Occult qualities were always assigned by the Druids to odd numbers. The stones of their temples varied between nine and nineteen; and similar numerical observances were attended to in all their ceremonies and oblations. In these inexplicable superstitions, they perhaps only imitated some of the sacred writers. “Balaam said unto Balak, build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven oxen and seven rams; and God met Balaam, and said unto him, I have prepared seven altars, and I have offered upon every altar a bullock and a ram.”¹

It was a peculiar principle of the Druids, which enjoined that no temple or covered building should be erected for public worship: for the sun being the grand medium rather than the object of their adoration, to have shut out that luminary during their religious service, would have been inconsistent with their object.² Near the temple,

¹ *Numbers*, chapter xxiii, verses 1, 4.

² *Chalmer's Caledonia*, vol. i, book ii.

was the sacred mount, and a stone table, on which the sacrifice was performed before it was laid upon the altar which stood in the centre of the temple. These were "the awful stones of power," so often mentioned in the poems of Ossian.¹

A few yards distant from the temple, was generally placed an erect stone, at which it is supposed the priest performed some ceremony while the sacrifice was burning at the altar.² They pretended to divine future events from the flowing of the blood, as well as from the posture and appearance of the entrails of their victims;³

" And leaning o'er the victims as they died,
Explored the future in the gushing tide.
Oft as the blood, impelled with various force
To right or left, directs its headlong course,
They saw some bless'd event, or traced with skill
Divine, some signal of impending ill."⁴

The peculiar doctrines of fraudulent priests have been traced back to the time of the post-deluvian patriarchs; but the craft of the Druids exceeded that of Zoroaster, and all the eastern policy of the ancients: they were magicians, as their name in the Manks language signifies.⁵ By their cabalistic arts, they deceived the people, and like all other conjurors, the Arch-Druid had his magical staff. It is not difficult to trace this superstition of the conjuror's wand to the caduceus of Mercury, the rod of Moses, and the staff of Elisha.⁶

In the primitive ages, there seems to have been an agreement among mankind—as well in faith as in the practice of religion—much in the same manner as there

¹ *Brand's Western Isles*, p. 44; *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, vol. ii, page 33.

² *Toland's History of the Druids*, p. 99.

³ *Strabo*, book vii.

⁴ *Fane of the Druids*, quarto, London, 1787, p. 23; *Camden's Britannia*, folio edition, 1695, p. 674.

⁵ *M'Alpine's Gaelic Dictionary*, edition 1833, p. 113.

⁶ *Dalyell's Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 384.

was a similarity in their language as derived from a common stock.

Besides the *cromlachs* and *cairns*, the *rocking-stones* added much to the mystical celebrity of the Druids. They were generally of a round form, of vast size, and so artfully poised on flat stones as to be moved by the slightest touch, to the great astonishment of the beholders!¹ By this pretended miracle, they either condemned or acquitted persons at pleasure.

Druidical cairns were so numerous in the uplands of the Isle of Man, that an author on the subject remarks, that "The tops of the mountains are nothing but the rubbish of nature, thrown into barren unfruitful heaps."² These cairns were dedicated to the sun: on the first day of May, which was the commencement of the Celtic year, they kindled fires on them, in honour of Beil, their Deity, in whose praise they sung a particular kind of music, called *cairn tunes*. These ceremonies were attended by nearly the whole population.

Many ceremonies were performed and sacrifices offered up to Beil, at these sacred fires. In Ireland, every member of a family was required to pass through the fire, as that was deemed necessary to ensure good fortune through the succeeding year.³

The Druidical anniversary of Beil or Baal is still celebrated in the Isle of Man.⁴ On the first of May, 1837, the Baal fires were, as usual on that day,⁵ so numerous as

¹ Sir Robert Sibbald, in his *History of Fife*, speaking of a rocking-stone near Balvard, says, "When this stone was broken by Cromwell's soldiers, it was discovered that its motion had been performed by a yolk extuberant in the middle of the under surface of the upper stone, which was inserted in a cavity of the lower stone, and concealed the mechanism of the motion. The better still to impose, there were two or three surrounding flat stones, though that only in the middle was concerned in the feat."—*Toland's History of the Druids*, pp. 105, 106.

² *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702, page 13.

³ *Toland's History of the Druids*, pp. 75, 102.

⁴ *Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, p. 154.

⁵ "This Pagan ceremony of lighting these fires in honour of the Asiatic God Belus,

to give the Island the appearance of a general conflagration.* This festival was likewise observed to a recent date in the Highlands of Scotland and Western Isles by kindling fires on the hills on May-day, at which the herdsmen made offerings of their corn and flocks.¹ One of them personified the Druid, by holding in his hand a piece of bread spread over with a custard of eggs, milk, and butter; with his face towards the east, he broke it, and throwing a piece over his shoulder, cried, "This I give to thee, O Stórm," that thou mayst be favourable to our corn and pastures; and this I give to thee, O Eagle, and this to thee, O Fox, that thou mayst spare our lambs and kids.² When the ceremony was over they dined on the candle; and after the feast was finished, what was left was carefully hid in the earth, by two persons appointed for that purpose; but on the next Sunday they re-assembled, and finished the relics of the entertainment.

Another of these periodical fire-meetings was held on the first of November. Every fire in the country was

gave its name to the entire month of May. Dr. Reating, speaking of this fire to Beal, says that the cattle were drove through it and not sacrificed; and that the chief design of it was to keep off all contagious disorders from them for that year. He says, also, that the inhabitants quenched their fires, and kindled them from the Beltane blaze."—*O'Brien's Irish Dictionary; Valencey's Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language*, 8vo, Dublin, edition 1772, p. 19; *Macpherson's Critical Dissertations on the Ancient Religion of the Caledonians*.

* Appendix, Note i, "Burnings of Fairies and Witches at Beltane."

¹ *Pennant's Tour in Scotland*, 1769, p. 98; *Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*, see "Beltane."

² "The Irish, too, worshipped the sun, the moon, and the winds."—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1705, p. 11.

³ *Stewart's Sketches of the Character and Manners of the Highlanders of Scotland*, 3d edit., vol. i, p. 9; *Statistical Account of the Parish of Logierait*. "Another ceremony at Beltien is worthy of special notice: When the Highland youths cast a trench in some sequestered spot among the hills, a fire was kindled, a cake made, and cut in pieces. One of these was blackened and put into a bonnet along with the rest. Each of the youths then present drew forth a portion, and he to whose lot the blackened piece chanced to fall, was held devoted to Bael-time or Bael-fire, as a sacrifice. The victim leaped three times through the fire that had been prepared for the ceremony."—*Dalyell's Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, page 168.

extinguished on the preceding night, in order to be supplied next day with a portion of the holy flame that was kindled and consecrated by the Druids. No person who chanced to be in arrear of the dues required by the priests, or who had infringed the law, was permitted to light his torch at the sacred fire until due reparation was made. If he refused to comply in the most submissive manner, sentence of excommunication was instantly pronounced against him ; and no person was allowed to give him shelter, food, or fire, a severe punishment in a cold country, on the approach of winter.¹

The dread of that portentous day is not yet wholly extinguished in some parts of the Highlands of Scotland. On the preceding evening, generally designated "Hallowe'en," immediately after dusk, large fires are kindled without, on conspicuous places,² and the peasantry carry blazing faggots round their steadings, to prevent the approach of *bogles* or *wirrey-cows*, which they believe to be abroad that evening after sunset, bent on the destruction of mankind. Should any family, through negligence, allow their fires to go out on that dreaded night, they would find it difficult to get a supply from their neighbours next morning.³

The Manks, likewise, place great reliance on fire protecting them from the influence of evil spirits. "Not a family in the whole Island, of natives, but keeps a fire constantly burning ; no one daring to depend on his neighbour's vigilance in a thing which he imagines is of so much consequence ; and every one firmly believing that if it should ever happen that no fires were to be found throughout the Island, the most terrible revolutions and mischiefs would immediately ensue."⁴ Almost down to

¹ *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities*, Edinburgh, 1780, p. 31 ; *Toland's History of the Druids*, p. 70.

² *Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders*, 3d edition, p. 9.

³ *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities*, p. 31.

⁴ *Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, folio 101.

the present time, no native of the Isle of Man will lend anything on either of the great Druidical festivals, just described, which shows the origin of the custom, so hard is it to eradicate from the minds of a people the remains of superstition, however ridiculous or absurd may be its tenets.

Besides these two great festivals, the Druids had others which were regulated by the age of the moon, and many of which appear to have reached our times. The moveable feasts are regulated by the age of the moon. "Easter is the first Sunday after the first full moon that happens after the twenty-first day of March."¹ The greater part of the fairs in Scotland depend on the moon in a similar manner, and are undoubtedly of Druidical origin.

The Druids observed the full moon, and on the sixth day of its age, they gathered the mistletoe;² but the devotion paid to the new moon has been more lasting in Scotland,³ in Ireland,⁴ and in the Isle of Man.

Most of the religious services of the Druids were begun and ended with the ceremony of going thrice round in the course of the sun. As these circumvolutions began at the east point and followed the course of the sun southward, they were called *deas-iul*, or the way to the south.⁵ This ceremony they considered as consistent with the will of God. On the contrary, the *car-tuia-iul*, or going

¹ *Lex Scripta*, 1819, p. 329.

² *Pliny*, book xvii, chap. xvii.

³ They assemble to pay homage to the new moon. Young women, when they first see it, pull a handful of grass, saying,

"New moon, true moon, tell me if you can,
If I have a hair, like the hair of my gudeman."

—*Chambers's Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1826, p. 284.

⁴ "The Irish, at sight of each new moon, bequeath the cattle to her protection, humbly imploring the pale-faced lady of the night that she will leave their bestial in as good plight as she found them; and if sick, scabbed, or sore, they solicit her maiden-faced majesty to restore them to their health."—*Lithgow's Travels in Ireland in the year 1619*, Leith, edition 1814, p. 341.

⁵ *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities*, p. 37.

round northward, was held disastrous even to a proverb ; so that the Druid could not pronounce on any person a greater imprecation¹ than an order to perform its course.

When a person died, a portion of earth and salt was immediately laid on the breast of the corpse ; the one as an emblem of the corruptibility of the body, the other of the incorruptibility of the soul.

This ceremony is still continued by many persons in the Isle of Man, who can give no reason for its performance. The character of the deceased was examined by a sacred court, in order to determine what funeral honours should be paid to the departed. When the sentence was unfavourable, the greatest sorrow was manifested by the relations ; but when otherwise, the most extravagant rejoicings instantly commenced. On these occasions, the nearest relation was usually the first to lead both the dance and the song, a custom yet scarcely extinct in the Western Isles, and in Ireland.²

The power of these priests, which at one time extended over France, Flanders, the Alpine regions, Lombardy, and the British Isles, was at length confined within the narrow limits of the Isle of Man. There the blood of the last victim was shed, and there the last temple of their idolatry was overthrown.³ Whatever may have been the speculative tenets of Druidism, its professors taught the duties of moral virtue, and enforced the precepts of natural religion, with a strong desire for liberty, and an ardent love of their country.⁴

As the light of Christianity overspread our northern

¹ The inhabitants of Colonsay, before any enterprise, passed sunways round the church, and rowed their boats sunways, as is still done in the Orkney Islands.—*Martin's Western Isles*, ap. *Dalgell's Darker Superstitions*, p. 456. Nor do the Manks fishermen of the present day consider it safe to put their boats about except in the course of the sun ; an opposite course was, in Scotland, called *Widdereckynnes*.

² *Smith's Gaelic Antiquities*, p. 56.

³ *Toland's History of the Druids*, p. 17.
Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. i, book ii.

hemisphere, the clouds of Paganism disappeared ; but the early ages of the Christian era were characterised by persecution and bloodshed.

The tenth persecution of the Christians, raised by the emperor Dioclesian, was supported in England by his relation Constantius Chlorus, which caused many of the Britons to flee into Scotland.¹ Crathlint, the Scottish monarch, from his ascension to the throne in A.D. 286, supported the new religion with the utmost zeal. When the persecuted Britons threw themselves on his protection, he received them with the greatest humanity and kindness.² Having previously destroyed the temples of the Druids in the Isle of Man,³ he built there a stately church for the accommodation of the pious refugees, and called it, *Sodorensæ Tanum*,⁴ or "The temple of our Saviour."

Hector Boetius and Bishop Spotswood have both been incorrect as to the date of Crathlint ascending the throne of Scotland, and as to the persecution of Dioclesian in England. This has caused some writers to doubt the whole of their statement respecting the first Christian settlement in the Isle of Man. Dr. Tanner, in his elaborate work, says, "The Scotch writers contend that the Isle of Man was converted to Christianity by the care of Crathlint, king of Scotland, and that he made Amphibalus bishop there, about A.D. 360. But the more generally received and better opinion is, that Christianity was planted there by St. Patrick, and the episcopal see erected

¹ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 130.

² *Carruthers' History of Scotland*, edition 1826, vol. i, p. 75.

³ *Petrie's History of the Catholic Church*, Hague, edition 1662, pp. 55, 56 ; *Mackenzie's De Regali Scotorum Prosapia*, cap. viii, p. 119.

⁴ *Spotswood's History of the Church of Scotland*, book i, folio 3 ; *Rowland's Monastic Antiquities*, p. 108 ; *Warrington's History of Wales*, London, 1788, page 540. Buchanan, in his preface to *Knos's History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland*, printed in folio, at Edinburgh, 1732, says, "The town near the church was called Sodora."

by him A.D. 447.”¹ Greater accuracy might have been expected of the learned doctor, and more particularly in a passage where he strives to set aside the authority of “the Scotch writers.” According to Gildas and Polydore Virgil, Amphibalus suffered martyrdom in 305,² and Crathlint died in 310.³ Angusian, the third in descent from Crathlint, was king of Scotland in 360.

During the peace enjoyed in consequence of the disorganised state of the Roman empire, after the death of the emperor Dioclesian, the Christian religion was greatly promoted in Scotland. Men of learning and piety took up their abode in the most solitary places, and gained such reputation for sanctity, that, when they died, their cells were changed into kirks: hence the origin of placing the word *kirk* before the name of a person, so common in the Isle of Man, and in Scotland.⁴

From the death of Amphibalus, till the accidental arrival of St. Patrick, the Manks church appears to have declined. The tutelary saint of Ireland, when on a voyage, A.D. 444, from Liverpool to Ireland, accompanied by thirty religious persons,⁵ was, in a violent tempest, cast ashore at a place that still bears his name.⁶ He found the people still adhering so much to the Pagan theology, and so addicted to practising the magical art, that he remained amongst them three years. During that time, by his unceasing labours, his powerful eloquence, and the astonishing miracles which he wrought, he so convinced the inhabitants of the truth of the Christian faith, as to leave little doubt in his mind of their sincerity.⁷

¹ *Notitia Monastica*, Cambridge edition, 1787, article “Man;” *Petrie's History of the Catholic Church*, p. 276.

² *Seacombe's History of the Isle of Man*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 40. According to Mathew Paris, his body was discovered at Radburn, near St. Albans, in the year 1178.

³ *Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, London, folio 1736, p. 756.

⁴ *Grose's Antiquities of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 5.

⁵ *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702, p. 18.

⁶ *Bleau's Map; Feltham's Tour*, p. 60; *Haining's Guide*, p. 9; *Rapin*, vol. i, p. 29.

⁷ *Memoirs of Bishop Hildesley*, p. 286, *ap. Manks Charities*, p. 52.

St. Patrick is said to have driven *Mannan-Beg-Mac-y-Leirr* from the Island, who, according to the Irish chronicles, was slain at Mogeullin, in the county of Galway;¹ and he is also reported to have delivered the Island from three plagues: venomous beasts, magicians, and invisible devils.²

At his departure, he left St. Germain his successor in the ministry; and hence this person has been placed in the list of the bishops of Man;³ but the authority produced does not seem sufficient to confirm the supposition. He was bishop of Auxerre, and came to Britain with Supus, bishop of Troyes,⁴ (afterwards the patron saint of Kirk Braddan) at the request of the British clergy, to endeavour to suppress the Pelagian heresy which at that time distracted the British church.⁵ His stay in the Isle of Man appears to have been of short duration, as in the following year he was engaged in the battle fought between the Britons and the Saxons, in Wales, at Maes Gramon, in Flintshire, where, by raising the cry of *Allelujah* through-

¹ *O'Flaherty's Ogygia*, part iii, chap. xiv, p. 179. Jocelin, in his *Life of St. Patrick*, tells us that one Melinus, i.e., *Mac Lea*, a master magician, was in the Isle of Man at the time of St. Patrick's arrival there. "This Melinus, in his magical arts, emulated Simon Magus, and aspired to the reputation of a god, and did fly in the air; but he came down fluttering at the prayers of St. Patrick."—*MS. History of Man*, quoted in *Townley's Journal*, Whitehaven, 1791, vol. ii, p. 74. The Manks magician had little chance of resisting the power of St. Patrick, who obtained "fire from heaven to consume nine wizards, clothed in white vestments, feigning themselves to be saints."—*Proprium Sanctorum*, fol. 71, ap. *Dalyell's Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 239.

² *Manks History*, ap. *Townley*, vol. ii, p. 74.

³ *Le Neve's Fasti Ecclesie Angli.*, p. 356; *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1824, p. 295; *Sacheverell*, ap. *Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 23; *MS. Record*, preserved in the Castle of Rushen.

⁴ Another account says—"St. Patrick appointed Germanus, a canon of Lateran, one of his own disciples, to rule over the infant church in Man, and he placed the episcopal seat on a certain promontory, which is to this day called Patrick's Isle. He introduced the liturgy of the Lateran, and so settled the banners of religion, that the Island never afterwards relapsed."—*Jocelinus in Vita Patricki*, ap. *Usher's Annales*.

⁵ *Warrington's History of Wales*, London, 1788, p. 544.

out the British camp, just at the moment of the onset, he so terrified the Saxons that they fled in every direction.¹

After returning to his own country, this *sword-bishop* gave way to every kind of concupiscence;² yet for having wrought the miracle at Maes Gramon, he was canonized at Rome, and the cathedral church of the Isle of Man, within the precincts of Peel Castle, was dedicated to him. According to the ancient Manks history, before referred to, "His corpse was laid beneath a great bank, with a stone cross at his feet, within his own church in Peel Castle;"³ but this is at variance with the account given by other historians.

According to Le Neve, the next bishop of Man was Conindicus who was succeeded by Romulus, both of whom were consecrated by St. Patrick; but nothing farther is recorded of them.⁴ Abbot would, perhaps, be a more appropriate name for these early ecclesiastics, as the bishops were then chosen by the people; but it is stated that the bishops usurped that privilege by retaining the right of appointment from amongst themselves.⁵ That St. Patrick should have set aside the rights of the people in such a manner is somewhat doubtful, indeed the chronicle of the early bishops throughout appears to be very defective. "The monks, who were the only annalists during those ages, were strongly infected with credulity, with love of wonder, and with a strong propensity to imposture."⁶

The next bishop on the list is Maughold,⁷ an Irish

¹ Warrington's *History of Wales*; Hollinshead's *Scottish Chronicles*, v. i, p. 187.

² *Chronicles of Scotland by Hollinshead*, 1805, vol. i, p. 187.

³ *History of the Isle of Man*, verse 16, p. 51 of this work.

⁴ *Fusti Ecclesiastica Anglicana*.

⁵ Pinkerton's *Enquiry into the Early History of Scotland*, vol. ii, part vi. In Ireland, the appointment of bishops was more irregular. See Appendix, Note ii, "Succession of Bishops."

⁶ Hume's *History of England*, vol. i, chap. i.

⁷ Maughold is, by some writers, called Macfield; by Heylin, Machilla, in the *Annals of Ulster*; by Keith, in his *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Machatus. I have followed Keith, as appearing to me to be the most correct.

prince who had been the chief of a band of *kerns* or *idle-men*,¹ over whom he had exercised an authority as absolute as "the old man of the mountain;"² but having incautiously descended too far into the low country, in search of plunder, he was taken prisoner. Having been converted and baptised by St. Patrick, he resolved now to avoid temptations by abandoning the world. Without having any particular place in view wherein to fix his retreat, he embarked in a wicker boat,* which drifted before the north wind towards the Isle of Man, where he was cast ashore at the headland, still known by his name, near the place where a city³ is said once to have stood, but of which there are now no remains visible.⁴

Being released from his perilous situation, he retired into a cave in the mountains, where, by the austerity of his manners, having the bare ground for his bed and a stone for his pillow, and partaking only of roots and water, he became so eminent for piety that he was, with the unanimous consent of the Manks people, elected bishop, A.D. 498; and so highly was he reputed as a father of the church, that he was visited by many pious persons even from other countries. Among the most celebrated of these foreign visiters was St. Bridget, one of the tutelary saints of Ireland, who made a voyage from that country to receive the veil of virginity from his hand, when she was only fourteen years of age.*

St. Germain had caused a chapel to be erected for every four quarterlands throughout the Island; but Maughold

¹ *Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1705, p. 31.

² *Hume's History of England*, vol. i, chap. x.

* Appendix, Note iii, "Wicker Boats."

³ "There was formerly a city in the Island, of no small extent, the remains of which are yet to be seen, and called by his (Maughold's) name. And these are facts," says Usher, "which we find handed down to us, concerning the succession of the first bishops of Man."—*Ward's Ancient Records*, London, 1837, p. 25.

⁴ *Feltham*, page 160.

* Appendix, Note iv, "Account of St. Bridget."

finding them too numerous divided the Island into parishes and caused a church to be erected in each.¹

Maughold died in A.D. 553, and, according to tradition, was buried in the church in Man that still bears his name, where his shrine was kept till the time of the reformation. He is mentioned in the calendars of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The church of Wigtown, in Galloway, and the church of Lesmahago, in Lanarkshire, were both dedicated to him. Mr. Chalmers says he was of British origin, and died in A.D. 554.² His festival was celebrated on the twenty-fifth of April and fifteenth of November.³

St. Conan, son of Eugene, king of Scotland, was the next Bishop of Man: he was a person of such great learning, that Eugenius, fourth king of Scotland, sent his three sons, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald, to be educated by him;⁴ but they did not all follow his holy precepts. Upon Ferquhard ascending the throne of his father in A.D. 622, murder and burning overspread the realm, which was supposed to have been instigated by the king, to weaken the power of his nobles. He was publicly charged with having committed crimes, and being unable to vindicate himself, he was cast into prison by his subjects, where he put an end to his existence.⁵ Fiacre, having taken holy

¹ *Metrical History of the Isle of Man*, verses 14 and 18, p. 51 of this work. The Island was originally divided into 600 quarterlands.—*Wood's Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 246. When Feltham made his tour of the Island, in 1797, the number of quarterlands amounted to 759, p. 47. Mr. Quayle, in his *General View of the Agriculture of the Isle of Man*, 1811, p. 134, with greater accuracy states the number of quarterlands to be 771. *Keith's Historical Cat. of Scottish Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1824, p. 379. This author says he sat bishop anno. 498 and 518. According to the *Annals of Ulster*, he died in 488; but it is stated by Dr. Heylin, that he was bishop in 578.—*Ap. Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 26.

² *Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 424.

³ *Butler's Lives of the Fathers and Martyrs and other principal Saints*, Paris, 1833, vol. iii, p. 206; *Colgan's Lives of the Saints of Ireland*, under "25th April;" *Keith's Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1824, pp. 295, 379.

⁴ *Bæthius's History of Scotland*, p. 350; *Hollinshead's Scottish Chronicles*, edit. 1805, vol. i, p. 213.

⁵ *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, 1805, vol. i, p. 215.

orders in France, refused, upon the death of his brother, to accept of the vacant throne; whereupon Donald, the third son of Eugenius, was, by common consent of the people, chosen king, and was accordingly brought from the Isle of Man with Bishop Conan, his preceptor, and crowned with great solemnity and pomp.¹

Prior to the time of Conan, Eugenius II, Conall II, and Kinatellus, kings of Scotland,² were educated in the Isle of Man, under the government of certain instructors, who trained them up in learning and virtuous discipline; "according to an ancient ordinance thereof, made and enacted," it passed into a law that the princes of Scotland should be educated in this Island.³ But the Manks seminary does not seem to have been devoted exclusively to the instruction of the Scottish princes, nor does it appear that corporeal aliment was as liberally bestowed as nutriment for the mind. It is related that Eyrind the Ostman, a relation of Frodius, king of the Goths, having married Raforta, a daughter of Kiarval, one of the kings of Ireland, retired with his princess to the Isle of Man, where she bore him a son. At their departure from the Island, they left young Helgius there to be educated; but having returned to see him some time afterwards, great was their surprise when, instead of the fine fat child whom they had left behind, they found a boy with fine eyes, yet almost without *flesh*, for he had been nearly consumed by hunger; he was, therefore, named Helgius the Lean.⁴

¹ *Guthrie's History of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1767, vol. i, p. 121; *Life of St. Fiacre and Brevery of Lisnoges*, ap. *Buller's Lives of the Fathers, &c*, Paris, edit. 1833, vol. i, p. 320. "This appears to be the same person who is called by Seacombe and some other writers, St. Lonan, to whom one of the parish churches in the Island is dedicated. "He was the son of Tygrida, one of the three holy sisters of St. Patrick."—*Seacombe's History*, 1741, p. 52.

² *Hollinshead's Chronicles of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 185; *Carruthers's History of Scotland*, vol. i, b. ii; *Seacombe's History*, Liverpool, 1741, page 4.

³ *Bethius*, ap. *Sacheverell*.

⁴ *Johnstone's Antiquities of Scandinavia*, Copenhagen, edition 1786, pp. 23, 24.

Bishop Conan died in 648. The honours of the church were paid to him on the 26th of January, throughout the Hebrides, down to the time of the reformation.¹ His successors, in due gradation, were St. Contentus,² St. Baldus, and St. Malchus, whose names only have been handed down to us by historians. Torkinus, who lived in 889, is styled Episcopus Sodorensis, as, indeed, all the preceding bishops were; he is supposed to be the patrician bishop, alluded to in the following account of Orlygus, the son of Rappus, a Norwegian chief, who was brought up in the Isle of Man.

Orlygus, the grandson of Biron Burias, who was educated at St. Patrick's church, in the Isle of Man, wishing to visit Ireland, where many of his relations had acquired large possessions, obtained permission from the patrician bishop, under whose charge he had been placed, on condition that he should build a church on his arrival in Ireland. Before embarking, the bishop gave him a quantity of iron materials, destined for its construction, with consecrated earth, which he was to place at the angular pillars, in order to consecrate the building. At parting he said, "where three mountains will present themselves to you, looking from the sea, you will find near the one on the south a valley destitute of trees, with three large stones in it, standing erect. There build your temple, and dedicate it to St. Columba."

Orlygus committed himself to the ocean, accompanied by his friend Kollus; but they were overtaken by a violent storm, as they approached the Irish coast, and their vessel, with great difficulty, reached the harbour of Orlygshofir, where they remained during the winter.

¹ *Butler's Lives of the Fathers*, Paris, edition 1833, vol. i, page 320; *Leslie's History of Scotland*.

² This person is called in ancient Manks history, Connaghan; his successor is said to be Maroonney; and that Conan, Connaghan, and Maroonney were all buried at Keil Marown.—See *Metrical History*, verse 20, page 51 of this work.

Orlygus, however, was much discomfited on account of having lost, during the storm, the consecrated iron, committed to his care by his foster-father, the bishop. On the following spring Orlygus refitted his vessel, and passed along the Irish coast, till he recognised the three mountains, and on the south, the valley with the three erect stones, referred to by the bishop. There he landed, and to his great surprise, perceived on the beach, the bundle of consecrated iron, which had been cast, by Kollus, into the sea at the commencement of the storm. In that valley he built a temple, and dedicated it to the patron saint of Iona.¹ This story may be regarded as a specimen of the propensity of the monks to ingraft tales of wonder into incidents of the most ordinary occurrence.

¹ *Johnstone's Antiquities of Scandinavia*, Copenhagen, 1786, pp. 14—16.

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER XI.

NOTE I.—PAGE 315.

BURNING OF FAIRIES AND WITCHES AT BELTANE.

Referring to this singular custom, as practised on the 1st May, 1837, the editor of one of the Manks newspapers says—"On May-day the people of the Isle of Man have, from time immemorial, burned all the whin bushes in the Island, conceiving that they thereby burn all the witches and fairies, which they believe take refuge there. After sunset, the Island presented the appearance of a universal conflagration, and to a stranger, unacquainted with our customs, it must appear very strange to see both old and young persons gathering particular herbs and planting them at their doors and in their dwellings, for the purpose of preventing the entrance of the witches."—*Mona's Herald* of May 5, 1837. In former times small crosses were also made of twigs of the mountain ash, called in Manks *crossh keirn*, and were disposed individually over the door of every dwelling-house, stable, and sheep-fold, with a piece of iron, of any description, as well as made fast to the tail of every cow.

The May-fires, which last in the Island from the first to the fourteenth day, are an interesting instance of the continuance of the ancient druidical custom of kindling fires in the open air on May-eve, in honour of the god, Beal or Bealan. On May-day the Druids drove all their cattle through the fire, to preserve them from disorders during the ensuing year.—*General Vallancey's Antiquities*, p. 19. The Romans, annexing the Latin termination, called him Belinus, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the sun.—*Toland's History of the Druids*, p. 67. The Scotch, Irish, and Manks call the first day of May *Bealtein* or the day of Beal's fire.—*Plowden's Dissertation on the Antiquity of Irish History; Jamieson's Scottish Dictionary*. From the progress of education and the increase of religious knowledge, a great change has taken place in the opinions and customs of the Manks people. A few may, from superstition, be still wedded to ancient customs and may prefer the marvellous to the more sober dictates of reason. But the lighting of fires on the first of May is now only practised for the amusement of the young, not from the absurd notion that by burning all the whin bushes in the Island that they thereby burn all the witches and fairies that take refuge in them. The natives have learned to employ the whins more usefully; and by comparing the past and the present, we perceive that superstition is giving place to more rational opinions.

The superstitious practice of strewing herbs, as described in the preceding extract, I think analogous to the custom, formerly existing in Scotland, of placing rowan tree branches over the doors of the houses, in order to protect the inhabitants from the power of *eye-biting* and *maledictions*. Juniper was burned by the Highlanders of Scotland as a propitiatory charm for the protection of their cattle. The hawthorn was considered a mystical plant, and the houses and gardens of our ancestors were said to be protected by the elder. In Brittany, as in Man, it is the custom on May-

eve to kindle fires on the hills and to pass a plant of the *sedum* or *house-leek* through the sacred flame.—*Macculloch's Western Isles*, vol. iv, p. 346. It was formerly believed in England, "That if the house-leek or *syngreen* do grow on the house-top, the same house is never stricken with lightning or thunder."—*Hill's Natural Conclusions*, London, 1670, ap. *Ellis's Popular Antiquities*, vol. iii, "Rural Charms." The mysterious *house-leek* may still be seen growing over the door of almost every old cottage in the Island, being planted there to prevent the entrance of the witches.

All the absurd enactments of former times are yet in force relating to witchcraft. When Mr. Mc. Hutchin, the present Clerk of the Rolls, held the office of deemster, he was applied to for a warrant against a witch, on the charge of depriving cows of their milk, and causing them to sicken. The prudent judge applied to a horse-doctor for a remedy to the disorder of the cattle, and thus put a stop to the prosecution.—*Trignmouth's Sketches*, cap. xx. But "a case of sorcery was recently brought into and gravely heard in one of the courts of law."—*Manx Sun* of Jan. 5, 1838.

NOTE II.—PAGE 322.

SUCCESSION OF BISHOPS.

"In Ireland, the appointment of bishops was more irregular. Celsus, Bishop of Armagh, who died A.D. 1129, immediately before his demise, being solicitous that Malachy Moargain, then bishop of Connor, should succeed him in the see of Armagh, sent him his staff by way of establishing him as his successor." But according to Bernard, "One Maurice, son of Donald, for five years, by secular power, held that church in possession: for the ambition of some in power had at that time introduced a diabolical custom of pretending to ecclesiastical sees by hereditary succession, nor suffering any bishops but the descendants of their own family. Fifteen generations had succeeded in that manner, and so far had that evil and adulterate generation conformed to the wicked course, that sometimes though clerks of their blood might fail, yet the bishops never failed. In fine, eight married men without orders were predecessors of Celsus, as Bishop of Armagh."—*Ware's Commentary on the Prelates of Ireland*, Dublin, 1704, page 9; John XIX, a layman, was made Pope A.D. 1003.—*Anderson's Royal Genealogies*, page 355.

NOTE III.—PAGE 323.

WICKER BOATS.

The ancient Irish used wicker boats covered with ox hides, not only in rivers, but on the open sea. These were called in Irish, *corraghs*, possibly from the British *corrag*, which signifies, a boat covered with leather. "Mac-Fil, or Mac-Cuil, (other

names for Manghold) afterwards Bishop of Man, being at sea in a leathern boat, was driven by a north wind into an Isle of the Eubonia."—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, Dublin, 1705, page 45. St. Columba made a similar voyage from Ireland to Iona, in A.D. 563. "Accordingly he set out in a wicker boat covered with hides, accompanied by twelve of his friends and followers, and landed in the Isle of Hi or Iona, near the confines of the Scottish and Pictish territories."—*Smith's Life of St. Columba*, Edinburgh, 1798, page 13. It would appear that all religious devotees leaving Ireland, went to sea in these wicker boats. "Dufstane, Macbeth, and Magulmumen, three Scotsmen, desiring to lead the lives of pilgrims for the Lord's sake, taking with them provisions for one week, went secretly out of Ireland in a boat made but of two skins and a half, without sails or oars, and in seven days landed in Cornwall."—*Ware's Antiquities*, page 46. It is a singular fact, that boats of this primitive description are plied in the present day on the Euphrates.—See *Skinner's Overland Journey to India*, edition 1837, vol. ii, pp. 117, 118.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 323.

ACCOUNT OF ST. BRIDGET.

Sacheverell's Account, p. 23. The following are a few particulars in the life of this illustrious and immaculate lady. She was born at Fochard, about A.D. 453, in the county of Louth, and lived mostly at Kildare, where, in 484, she founded a nunnery. A perpetual fire was kept burning there for many ages, till ordered to be extinguished A.D. 1220.—*Plowden's Dissertation on the Antiquity of Irish History*, London, 1831, p. 43. This fire was attended by virgins, called *Inghean na Dagha*, or daughters of fire.—*Logan's Scottish Gael*, vol. ii, p. 327. St. Bridget was so eminent for working miracles, that when she touched the altar in testimony of her virginity, it "grew green and flourished."—*Ware's Antiquities of Ireland*, page 150. She is reputed to have obliged posterity with twelve books of her revelations, which an angel dictated, as St. Bridget prayed, and a scribe took notes.—*Cambrensis de Muamitibus*, book ii, chap. xxxix, in *Ware's Irish Writers*, book i. Under the same roof with the nunnery at Kildare, was a monastery, and St. Bridget presided over both the nuns and monks of these establishments till her death, which, according to her nephew Cogitosus, happened in 521, and according to the *Annals of Ulster*, in 525.

There are many churches dedicated to St. Bride throughout Scotland, England, Germany, and France. Her festival was celebrated on first February. Her remains were found A.D. 1185, with those of St. Patrick and St. Columba, in a triple vault in the town of Downpatrick, and were taken to the cathedral of the same town. The tomb in which they were enclosed was destroyed in the reign of Henry VIII. The head of St. Bridget is kept to this day at Lisbon, in the church which belonged to the Jesuits."—*Butler's Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints*, Paris, edition 1833, vol. i, page 463. According to the *Flowers of the Lives of the most renowned Saints*, St. Bridget's day, the Virgin of Kildare, was February the 1st.—*Rierome Porter*, 4to. Doway, 1632, p. 118; *Vallancey's Essay on the Antiquity of the Irish Language*, 8vo. Dublin, 1772, p. 21.

CHAPTER XII.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY FROM A.D. 838 TO 1839.

Bishopric of Sodor founded by Pope Gregory IV—Wimund consecrated by the Archbishop of York—Norwegians, Scots, and Englishmen admitted to the See of the Isles without any distinction as to country—Lawrence consecrated Bishop of Man by the Archbishop of Drontheim—The Manks laid under an Interdict for having banished the Bishop—The Smoke-penny Tax imposed, as a Punishment for that Offence—William consecrated Bishop of Man at Avignon, by Pope Clement VII—The Bishopric of the Isles separated from that of Sodor and Man—The Earl of Derby confirms to Huan and his Successors all the Privileges anciently possessed by the Bishops of Man—The singular Title of "Sword Bishop" borne by John Meyrick—Earl of Derby's opinion as to the choice of a Bishop—Patriotic Exertions and Bequests of Bishop Barrow—Account of Bishop Wilson—The Scriptures translated into the Manks Language—The People resist certain Claims of Tithes made by the Bishop—The See of Sodor and Man to be united to that of Carlisle—That Act repealed—A Bill passed by the House of Keys for the Commutation of Tithes.

THOUGH the Bishopric of Sodor was not constituted till A.D. 838, by Pope Gregory IV; there is evidence to prove that two centuries before that time the bishop was styled "Bishop of Sodor and Man."¹

St. Brandan, to whom the church of Kirk Braddan was dedicated, was bishop in the eleventh century;² at which time, according to Mathew Paris, the bishopric was termed Sodor and Man.

Prior to the reign of Goddard Crovan, Rolwer was consecrated Bishop of Sodor and Man. Rolwer was interred in the church of Kilmachow, and was succeeded

¹ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i; *Camden*; *Spotswood*; *Seacome's History of the Isle of Man*, Liverpool, edition 1741, page 40.

² *Butler's Lives of the Fathers*, Paris, edition 1833, vol. p. 33.

by William; and William by Aumond M'Olay, who held the see in the days of the Norwegian conquest.¹

Wimund, son of Jole, a Manksman,² was bishop in 1113. He is supposed to be the same with Remar, mentioned by Torfæus;³ but a more correct historian than either, says, he was an Englishman of obscure birth. Having in his youth gained great proficiency in penmanship, he gained a livelihood for a considerable time by transcribing old writings in monasteries. He afterwards became a monk of the Abbey of Furness, where he applied himself to his studies with such diligence, that he was soon distinguished above all his fellows. Having been sent to the Isle of Man with some other monks, his persuasive eloquence, and, as the historian says, "his portly figure,"⁴ so charmed the people, that they made him their bishop. He was consecrated by the Archbishop of York, and is supposed to be the first Bishop of Man that became a suffragan of that province.⁵

After Wimund was raised to the episcopal dignity, he married a daughter of Somerled,⁶ the powerful Thane of Argyle; but aspiring to greater things, he pretended to be son of Angus, Earl of Murray, who was slain at Strickathrow, in 1130.⁷ The Manks knew nothing of his pedigree, and not doubting the veracity of their favourite bishop, many brave men espoused his cause, and resolved to assist him in vindicating his rights to the estates of his ancestors. Collecting together, therefore, some vessels, he made piratical excursions into the neighbouring Islands, and even, invading the Scottish coasts, slew many of the inhabitants, and pillaged the country. He maintained

¹ *Johnstone's Chronicon Manniæ*. This bishop is not mentioned either by Keith in his *Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, or by Sacheverell.

² *Seacome's History of the Isle of Man*, Liverpool, edition 1741, page 97.

³ *Le Neve's Fasti*, page 356.

⁴ *William of Newbury*, v. i, c. i, c. xxiv.

⁵ *Willis's Survey of Cathedrals*, vol. i, p. 369.

⁶ *Haile's Annals of Scotland*, London, 1776, vol. i, p. 87; *Forsyth*, c. viii, p. 2.

⁷ *Haile's Annals of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 88.

this predatory warfare with such success, that David, the Scottish monarch, was at last obliged to enter into terms of accommodation with the daring and crafty adventurer; but he was at last taken prisoner and confined in the Castle of Roxburgh.¹

After a tedious confinement, he was pardoned by the king of Scotland, and, according to one historian,² retired to the Abbey of Biland, in Yorkshire, where, although then blind, he took great delight in relating his adventure to the friars. But the better and more generally received opinion is, that he returned to the Isle of Man, for he was bishop there in 1151.³

Wimund's piratical excursions into Scotland with his Manks troops were made in the absence of Godred II, then king of the Isles;⁴ but who, from the disorganised state of his dominion, had not the power of chastising the prelate and his followers till his return from Ireland; when, seeing none able to oppose his dictates, he began to grow tyrannical to his troops, and even to his vassals, some of whom he dispossessed, and others he degraded from their dignities.⁵ Among these it is highly probable that the bishop, for his former offences and his insolence, was deprived of his sight, and expelled.⁶ He was interred in the cathedral church of St. Germain,⁷ where a tomb supposed to be his, may be seen.

According to Mathew Paris,⁸ Wimund was succeeded by John, another monk, of Sais, in Normandy. I do not

¹ *Heron's History of Scotland*, Perth, 1794, vol. i, p. 288.

² *William of Newbury*, vol. i, p. 81.

³ *Mathew Paris's History Angl.* p. 60.

⁴ *Macculloch's Description of the Western Isles*, London, 1824, vol. iii, p. 43.

⁵ *Johnstone's Celto Normanica*, Copenhagen, 1786, p. 151.

⁶ *Mathew Paris*, ad annum, 1151.

⁷ *Willis's Survey of Cathedrals*, vol. i, p. 369.

⁸ *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1824, p. 297. The bishop's statements are generally defective, and often incorrect. He takes no notice either of Wimund's marriage, his piratical excursion, or of his imprisonment in Roxburgh Castle, although these circumstances are detailed by writers of high veracity.

find when this prelate died, only he was buried at the cathedral church of St. Germain.¹ He is omitted by Mr. Sacheverell, in his list of the Manks Bishops.

Heldebert, Archbishop of Tours, writes, (epist. 55): That, while he was *Bishop of Man*, the canonries or prebends of the church of Clement were transmitted hereditarily, so that there the canons were born such, and not instituted; and for this they pleaded custom in their favour, alleging that there was no need of electing any clergy excepting bishops, and perhaps abbots.² I have not found this prelate's name in any list of Manks Bishops; but as he was Archbishop of Tours, A.D. 1127, I think he probably succeeded John, as Bishop of Sodor or Man, about 1151.

Gamaliel, an Englishman, is said to have been consecrated Bishop of Sodor by Roger, Archbishop of York, who was promoted to that see anno 1154 and died 1181. The time of Gamaliel's death is not mentioned, only we are informed that he was buried in the Abbey of Peterborough.

Reginald, a Norwegian, is the next Bishop of the Isles that occurs: to him was given a grant of the third part of the tithes of Man, that in after times the inferior clergy might be freed from all farther demands by the bishop.³

He was succeeded by Christian Archadiensis, interpreted by an English author to be a "native of Orkney;" but, in my opinion, it seems rather to signify "a native of Argyllshire," which is called in old writs *Argadia* or

¹ *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, 1824, p. 297.

² *Preliminary Dissertation on the Culdees*, prefixed to *Keith's Catalogue*, p. 51.

³ *Johnstone's Chronicon Manniæ*. From the time of the Norwegian conquest, A.D. 1098, the Bishops of Man were elected by the Monks of the Abbey of Furness, in Lancashire. In a MS. taken from that abbey, and now in the office of the Duchy of Lancashire, is the following bull of Pope Celestine III, in 1198:—"In electing the Bishop of the Isles, we have confirmed to you, by our holy authority, the right which the kings thereof, of good memory, Olave and Godred, his son, held in your monastery, so as the same may be held in right of them. Given at Rome, the 10th of the calends of July, in the 4th year of our pontificate."—*Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 31.

Archadia. This bishop died in Ireland and lies buried in the monastery of Benchar.

Michael, said to have been a native of the Isle of Man, succeeded Christian; being a monk, he was, for his mildness, gravity, and eminent qualities, raised to the episcopal dignity. He died at a very advanced age at Fountain's Abbey in Yorkshire and was buried there about 1203.¹

He was succeeded by Nicholas de Meaux, of Furness, in Lancashire, who was made bishop anno 1203. It is reported that he went to Ireland to visit the monastery of Benchar, and that dying there anno 1217, was buried in that place; but it is more probable that he only there resigned his bishopric, for he is afterwards (anno 1227) mentioned as witness to a charter, granted to the priory of Stamford.² This bishop is mentioned by Torfæus³ anno 1215, under the name of Kolas, being the last two syllables of his name. Nicholas died at Ulster anno 1217, and was buried in the religious house of Benchar.⁴

The next bishop was Reginald, nephew of Olave, surnamed "The black King of Man." He made a circuit of the Isles for the purpose of visiting all the churches in his diocese. Olave was then in the Island of Lewis, which had been allotted him by his brother Reginald: "happy to see his sister's son, he received the bishop with much cordiality and ordered a banquet to be prepared. 'I will not partake with thee, friend,' said the prelate, 'till the church hath annulled thy illicit marriage; art thou not sensible that thou wert formerly wedded to

¹ How the Bishops of Man were elected at this period, we find from a bull of Pope Celestine III, dated at Rome, 1195: "We do, by our apostolic authority, confirm the liberty which the Kings of the Isles, Olave and Goddard, his son, granted to the Monastery of Furness, of appointing the Bishops of Man, as fully empowered in their original grants. Granted at Rome, on the 10th of the kalens of July, in the fourth year of our pontificu."—*Camden's Britannia*, page 1450.

² *Monastic Antiquities*, vol. i, p. 506.

³ *Torfæus*, page 154.

⁴ *Chronicles of Man*, in *Camden's Britannia*.

the cousin of the woman who is now thy consort.' Olave admitted that he had long kept the cousin of his present wife as a concubine. The bishop thereupon convened the clergy and divorced Joan (who was the daughter of a nobleman of Kintyre) from her husband."¹ Reginald was a prelate of exemplary piety. He died in 1225, and was interred in the Abbey of Rushen.

According to some English historians, he was succeeded by John, son of Harfare, anno 1226, who, by a melancholy accident, arising from the negligence of his servants, was burnt to death. He was buried at Jerewas, by some thought to be Jervaulx Abbey in Yorkshire, and by others Jurby in the Isle of Man, Keith,² however, says he was buried at Yarro-mouth in England;³ but, be this as it may, he enjoyed only for a short time the dignity of a prelate, as Simon, episcopus Sodorensis, is said, by Torfæus, to have been consecrated bishop there anno 1226. In 1229, he published the statutes of the constitution of the diocese of Sodor in the Isle of Man, printed in *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i, p. 711. He is witness to a charter, dated 9th January in the seventeenth year of the reign of Alexander II, A.D. 1231.⁴ In 1239 he held a synod, whereat he made thirteen canons.* He died at his palace of Kirk Michael, in the Isle of Man,⁵ and was buried in St. Patrick's Isle, and within the cathedral church of St. Germain, which he had begun to build. He was eighteen years bishop,⁶ and lived to a very advanced age.

After his decease, Lawrence, Archdeacon of Man, was, by the approbation of the chapter of Man, chosen to

¹ *Johnstone's Cello Normanice.*

² *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1824, p. 299.

³ *Johnstone's Chronicon Mannie.*

⁴ *Chronicles of Arbroath.*

* Appendix, Note i, "Canons of the Manks Church."

⁵ *Wilkinsii Com.; Statutes*, vol. i, p. 664.

⁶ *Johnstone's Chronicon Mannia*, Copenhagen, 1786, p. 151; *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 299.

fill the vacant see. On his election, he immediately set out for Norway, to pay his respects to Harold, the reigning king of Man, who was, at that time, residing at the court of Haquinus IV, and to the Archbishop of Drontheim, for the purpose of being regularly consecrated; but Harold, from some accounts which he received from Man, would not assent to the election of Lawrence.¹ Keith says he was consecrated by the Archbishop of Drontheim;² but unluckily was drowned on his return home, and consequently never got possession of his dignity. This was afterwards conferred on Stephen, who appears to have been Bishop of the Isles anno 1253, as in that year he confirms to the monastery of Paisley all the churches and lands held in that establishment, within his diocese, and several other donations made to them by the lords of the Isles.³ This bishop is omitted by Le Neve, Sacheverell, and other historians; but his existence is confirmed by the chartulary of Paisley. If Lawrence was drowned in 1247, the see may have been held by Stephen till 1253. In this year Richard, Bishop of the Isles, dedicated to St. Mary the abbey church of Rushen, which had been one hundred and thirty years in building. He was consecrated at Rome by the archbishop of Drontheim.⁴ He died anno 1274 at Langalynner, in Copland, on his return from a general council, and was buried in the Abbey of Furness. In this bishop's time, Alexander III

¹ *Johnstone's Chronicon Mannie*, anno 1248.

² *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, p. 299; *Seacome* says, in his *History*, page 44, "That after great disputes, Lawrence was consecrated bishop by the Archbishop of Drontheim, and that after his death the bishopric of Man remained vacant six years. The archiepiscopal see of Trondheim, now called Drontheim, included the native colonies in Iceland, Greenland, the Faroe Isles, the Orkneys, Hebrides, and Isle of Man.—*Crichton's Scandinavia*, vol. i, cap. v."

³ *Chartulary of Paisley*.

⁴ *Torfaeus*, page 165, says, Richard was consecrated bishop, at Rome, in 1252; but this is evidently a mistake, as it is in direct opposition to all other accounts of that period. *Keith*, upon the authority of *Torfaeus*, in his *Catalogue*, places a Richard, bishop in 1252, in the list before Stephen; but as I have been unable to find any other mention of him, I have omitted him altogether.

conquered the Isles and obtained for himself and his heirs all rights and privileges belonging to the said Islands, without any restraint, together with the right of the episcopacy of Man, the laws, jurisdiction, and liberty of the church of Nidrosien, in every thing that he possesses in the church of Man, and with the exception of the Isles of Orcades and Shetland, which the king of Norway reserved to himself.¹ In 1275, Mark, a native of Galloway, was promoted to the see by Alexander III, king of Scotland. He is styled *Episcopus de Man*, in the treaty made by king Edward I, with the Scots, about the marriage of prince Edward, his eldest son, with Margaret, the infant queen of Scotland (*Foed Angliae*). Bishop Mark, being an excellent negotiator, was much employed in foreign treaties, in the contest betwixt Bruce and Baliol, and at the same time he is said to have filled the office of Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.² In March, 1291, he held a synod at Kirk Braddan, where thirty-nine canons were enacted. In June of the same year, the competitors for the crown agreed that seisine of the kingdom of Scotland should be given to king Edward; and the Scottish regent having accordingly made out a solemn surrender of the kingdom into the hands of the English monarch, swore fealty to him, along with many of the barons. The only ecclesiastic who performed this disgraceful ceremony was Mark, Bishop of Sodor and Man;³ but for the inconsistent part, which he afterwards acted,

¹ *Johnstone's Chronicon Mannie*, Copenhagen, edition 1786, pp. 52, 53.

² *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1824, page 301. Bishop Mark is altogether omitted by Crawford, in his *Lives of the Scottish Bishops*, and, indeed, I have found him nowhere else so designated. Perhaps he succeeded William Frazer, Bishop of St. Andrews, who resigned the office of Lord Chancellor anno 1280, as the immediate successor of that prelate is not mentioned.—*Keith's Catalogue*, "See of St. Andrews."

³ *Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 207; *Fædera*, b. xi, p. 615. "The letter from the community of Scotland, directed to Edward I, from Brigham, is important and curious. It contains the names of all the Bishops of Scotland, among which is Marc Evesque de Man."—*Tytler's History of Scotland*, vol. i, p. 431.

he was seized by Edward, and sent prisoner to London. He was, also, formally banished by the Manks; but for this act, the Island remained for three years under an interdict, when Mark was recalled, the inhabitants, by way of penance, agreed to make payment to him of a penny for every house that contained a fire-place. This tax was called *the smoke penny*, and continued to be paid to many succeeding prelates.¹ Keith says, he suffered much for his fidelity to his country, and loyalty to his prince,

“Happy when evil lights on such alone.”

He died anno 1303, having been for some time blind, and was buried in the cathedral church of St. Germain.

Next to him, our church historians place Allan, by some writers called Ornac, a native of Galloway,² who became Bishop of the Isles anno 1305. He was one of the Scotch clergy who recognized the title of Robert Bruce to the crown, in 1309; and his name is mentioned that year in another writ.³ He ruled the church with great approbation till the time of his death, on 15th February, 1321. He was buried at Rothsay, in the Isle of Bute.

To him, Gilbert Mc. Clellan, also a native of Galloway,

¹ *Johnstone's Chronicon Mannie*. This tax appears to have been only the annual tribute of one penny collected out of every family at the feast of St. Peter, and hence was called in Britain, Peter-pence, which imposition was continued till the time of Henry VIII, when it was enacted, “that henceforth no person shall pay any pension, Peter-pence, or other imposition, to the use of the bishop and see of Rome.—*Buck's Theological Dictionary*; see letter P.

² In the *Ancient Rolls of Scotland* is inserted this memorandum: “Allan, of Wigtown, holds letters of presentation to the church of Saint Carber, (now Kirk Arbory,) in Man.” As this register extends only from A.D. 1290 to 1295, Allan's appointment to the church of St. Carber must have taken place during that period, as the last-mentioned date was ten years before his appointment to the see of Sodor and Man. Another memorandum is “respecting the office of Chancellor of Scotland, committed to the dignitary Allan, of Dumfries;” again, “regarding deer given to Allan, of Dumfries, Chancellor of Scotland.”—*Calendars of Ancient Charters*, London, 1772, p. 105. Alani Episcopi Sodorenensis was witness to a proclamation issued by King Robert I, dated at the monastery of Cambuskenneth, 6th November, 1314, calling on his subjects to return to their allegiance after the battle of Bannockburn.—*Sir Walter Scott's Lord of the Isles*, canto vi, note xxiv.

³ *Anderson's Independency*, appendix, No. 14.

succeeded in 1321. Sacheverell and other historians say that he died in 1323 ; but this must be a mistake, for he is found witness to several charters in the 19th, 20th, and 21st years of the reign of Robert I,¹ which coincide with the years 1325, 1326, and 1327. He was also buried at Rothsay, in the Isle of Bute, and was, as some writers say, succeeded by Bernard, abbot of Kilwinning, anno 1324, who held the bishopric for nine years, and was buried in the abbey church of Kilwinning, Ayrshire.² Keith, however, is of opinion that he has been mistaken for Bernard de Linton, the famous abbot of Arbroath. This man seems to have been a native of the south of Scotland, and to have been bred to the church. He is designated rector of Mordington, both by Prynne and Rymer, anno 1296. He was made Abbot of Arbroath in 1311, and Chancellor of Scotland by King Robert I. By a charter in the chartulry of Arbroath, dated 30th April, 1328, it appears that Bernard was at that time Bishop-elect of the Isles. It is there stated, "That as Bernard, Abbot of Arbroath, for the space of seventeen years, had been elected to the see of Sodor, the lords of the kingdom of Scotland, as well for a reward for his former services as to defray the expense of the said election, grant to him all the fruits of the church of Abernethy and chapel of Dumblane, till the end of seven years from the feast of the passover A.D. 1328."

"Barnardus episcopus Sodorensis," is written to a charter granted by Robert I, to the city of Glasgow, anno 1329. A fragment of a poem written by him, is printed in Fordun, vol. ii, p. 248. He died in 1333, and was buried at Arbroath, where he had been so long abbot.³

Thomas, a native of Scotland, is next met with as

¹ *Regist. Chart.*, Arbroath, Cambuskenneth, and Soone, in *Keith's Catalogue*, page 302.

² *Sacheverell's Account of the Isle of Man*, London, 1702, p. 114.

³ *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, page 303.

Bishop of the Isles, anno 1334. He was the first bishop who enacted twenty shillings as a procuration from the churches of Man. He was, also, the first who demanded a tenth part of all taxes paid by foreigners employed in the herring fishery.¹ He filled the see of Sodor and Man for eighteen years. Having visited Scotland in 1348, he died there on the 20th September, and was buried at Scone.

William Russel, Abbot of Rushen, said to be a native of the Isle of Man, succeeded next to the see. He was consecrated at Avignon, by Pope Clement VI, anno 1348. He held a synod at St. Michael's, anno 1350, at which five additional canons were made.² In 1373, he founded at Biekmachen or Beemachan, in Kirk Arbory parish, a house of minor friars.³

He had been eighteen years Abbot of Rushen, and was twenty-six years Bishop of Man, when he died at Ramshhead, 21st April, 1374, and was buried in the monastery of St. Mary, of Furness.

His successor was John Duncan, another Manksman. He was elected Bishop of Man, by the clergy of the diocese of Sodor, on the last day of May, 1374.

On the ensuing festival of St. Leonard, he was confirmed at Avignon, by Pope Gregory XI; and on the following festival of St. Catherine, he, along with eight other bishops, was solemnly consecrated in the monastery of the mendicant friars, by Cardinal Praestine, some time Bishop of Cracoviacum.⁴ Returning home, however, he was

¹ *Johnstone's Chronicon Mannia.*

² *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i, page 711.

³ *Willis's Survey of Cathedrals*, vol. i, p. 664; *Speed's Map*. According to Mr. Ward, Wm. Russell went to Avignon, in 1348, to be consecrated by the Pope, in consequence of the Archbishop of Drontheim having been supposed to have lost his spiritual jurisdiction when the King of Norway lost the Island.—*Ancient Records*, page 32. This could not be the reason, as the King of Norway did not resign his right to the Isle of Man till the year 1366.

⁴ *Johnstone's Chronicon Mannia*, Copenhagen, 1786.

made prisoner, and lay in irons for two years at Bologna, in Picardy, whence he was obliged to ransom himself by the payment of five hundred merks, at that time considered a large sum.¹

Immediately after his return to his native Isle, on the festival of the conversion of St. Paul, A.D. 1376, and in the third year of his consecration, he was solemnly installed in his own cathedral church, at Peel, on which occasion he received many great offerings.² He died in 1380.³

Whether the inhabitants of Icolmkill and the other Western Isles submitted to the authority of the two last-mentioned Bishops of the Isle of Man, which, from the year 1341, had been in the hands of the English, or established a separate bishop of their own, is uncertain; but it is evident that on the death of John Dunkan, this bishopric was divided into two dioceses. The clergy of Iona, and the Western Isles elected as their prelate a person named John, while, at nearly the same time, the clergy of Man elected as the successor of Dunkan, Robert Waldby, who was afterwards Archbishop of Dublin.⁴

Bishop Waldby held the see of Man twenty-two years, and was succeeded by John Sprotton, the first bishop mentioned in the Manks records, and the last before the patronage of the bishopric devolved to the house of Stanley. He was appointed in 1396.

By letters patent of 7th April, 1407, the king granted to Sir John Stanley and his heirs, for ever, the patronage

¹ *Sacheverell's Account*, 1702, p. 116.

² *Johnstone's Chronicon Mannie*, Copenhagen, 1786, p. 47.

³ *Keith's Catalogue*, edition 1824, page 304.

⁴ *Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, Edinburgh, 1824, p. 304. "After the Isle of Man was subdued by the English, the bishopric of Sodor was divided into two; that which was erected in the principal Island, and confined to it, fell under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of York; the other, which comprehended all the Eubudes of Scotland, fell under the Archbishop of Glasgow."—*Macpherson's Critical Dissertation on the History of the Norwegian Principality, commonly called the Kingdom of Man*, Edinburgh, edit. quarto, 1768, p. 286.

of the bishopric of Sodor and Man, with the parsonages and vicarages within that diocese.¹

The Bishop of Man was afterwards nominated by the Lords of Man, and appointed by the king of England, but without a seat in the British parliament.² "However, as in case of treason, the Island should become forfeited to the crown, the bishop then, as holding his see from the king, would have a vote as well as a seat."

It appears, also, that the bishop in some measure depended on the lord for his salary, as the lord's share of the tithes accrued to him,³ "either as lord or abbot."

Richard Pulley was bishop A.D. 1429, as appears from the following extract from the public records of the Island: "At a court of all the commons of Man, holden at the Castle of Rushen, between the gates, on Tuesday next, after the 20th day of Christmas, 1430, Finlo M'Key, with the rest of his fellows, were called to answer, upon divers articles presented by Gubon M'Gubon, clearke commissary to Richard Pulley, Bishop of Sodor, in his visitacon, holden at Hollandtowne, (*i.e.* Peel) in the year 1429. Among other, the particles ordained for the relief of the poor shollers are now dealt unto other uses by the fault of the bishop. And the said Finlo and Jenkin Lucason, with their fellows, say they will not pay the debts of holy church till this be corrected."⁴

The name of this prelate is not mentioned, nor is allusion made to him in any catalogue or account of the Bishops of Man that I have hitherto seen.

¹ *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 19.

² *Venerii Antiquities Eccles. Britain*, folio 334; *Willis's Survey of Cathedrals*, vol. i, p. 369; *Jefferrey's Account of the Isle of Man*, p. 141.

³ "There was a Bishop of the Isle called Episcopus Sodorensis, when the jurisdiction of all the Hebrides belonged to him, whereas now he is but a bishop's shadow, for albeit that he bears the name of Bishop of Man, yet have the Earls of Derby, as is supposed, the chief profit of the see. Save that they allow him a little to flourish, he has not wherewithal to maintain his countenance."—*Hollinshead's Chronicles of England*, folio, vol. i, pp. 38, 146.

⁴ *Lex Scripta of the Isle of Man*, printed at Douglas, 1819, page 11.

Thomas Grene, vicar of Dunchurch in Warwickshire, was appointed to the bishopric of Sodor and Man in 1488. How long he held it, is uncertain; but he was succeeded by Thomas Burton, who died in 1458. Thomas, formerly Abbot of Vale Royal in Cheshire, held the bishopric in 1480 and was succeeded by Thomas Oldham, which is all that is known of the ecclesiastical history of the Island during that stormy period. Huan Husketh was promoted to the bishopric of Sodor and Man in 1487. In 1505, Thomas, Earl of Derby, confirmed to him and all his successors all the lands and privileges anciently belonging to the Bishops of Man. This deed of confirmation, which has been happily preserved by Sir William Dugdale, is for the first time translated, and inserted at length in the appendix to this chapter.*

In the *Lex Scripta* of the Island, an "indenture" appears to have been made on the last day of July, A.D. 1532, "between the Right Reverend Father in God, John, Bishopp of Sodorensis and the Isle of Man, and the Right Honourable Edward, Earl of Derby, Sovereigne and Liege Lord of the same Isle." This John has not been included in any catalogue of the Bishops of Man, hitherto published. His name is not even mentioned in the MS. list of Manks Bishops in the British Museum, which, Mr. Ward says, he examined more carefully than the subject might seem to require.¹

By virtue of the act 27th Henry VIII, cap. 28, for the general dissolution of monasteries and other religious establishments,² the monastery of Rushen, the priory of

* Appendix, Note ii, "Charter of the Biahopric."

¹ *Ancient Records*, pp. 36, 98.

² Some idea of the extent of the operations of King Henry's ecclesiastical act may be formed from the following circumstance: In the House of Commons, on the 12th April, 1838, "Colonel Sibthorp moved for a return of the present valuation, as far as can be ascertained, of all the property, in lands, manors, forests, and liberties, which originally belonged to the several monasteries, abbeys, chapelries or other religious houses, which for other purposes, than those for which they were established and endowed, have been alienated from the service of the church; also a return of the

Douglas, and the Friar's Minors, commonly called the "Gray Fryars of Bimakin," were vested in the crown of England. The cathedral church of St. Germain, which had been commenced in 1230 by Bishop Simon, and which was the resting place of many of his successors in the see, before it was completed, and the abbey church of Rushen, which had been an hundred and thirty years in building, were, by one dash of a sacrilegious hand, reduced to ruins.¹

The revenue of the Manks church was apportioned after the most ancient and apostolic manner. One third of all the tithes was allowed to the bishop for his maintenance, another third to the parochial priests for their subsistence, and the remaining third to the abbey of Rushen for the education of youth and the relief of the poor.² But when the abbey was destroyed in the "devouring reformation,"³ its charitable possessors driven forth into the world, its lands sold, its churches and the resting place of kings and bishops rudely desecrated, the Lord of the Isle seized upon that portion of the tithes which had been held by the monks for the public good.⁴

It was enacted by the insular government, in the year

names of the individuals to whom, and the period at which such were granted, and by whom they are now severally enjoyed." "The Attorney General said he could hardly think that the motion was made seriously; but, at all events, that it was impracticable, as it would require the issuing of fifty-thousand orders, and the examination of perhaps one million of titles." The motion was negatived without a division.

¹ From the following passage it appears that Bishop Ward intended to rebuild these edifices, had his life been prolonged: "The bishop does not despair of either restoring the ancient cathedral of St. Germanus, now in ruins, or of laying the foundation of a new one. The lands and ruined walls too of Rushen Abbey, at present offered for sale, do not stand unnoted."—*Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 64. This venerable prelate, in the course of nine years, succeeded in raising funds for building and rebuilding eleven churches and chapels; and, it seems, had, at the time of his death, funds in his hands for building two more.—*Ancient Records*, p. 61.

² *Ward's Ancient Records*, London, 1837, p. 91.

³ *Sacheverell*, Dedication to Bishop Wilson. For the extent and subsequent distribution of church-lands, see cap. xiv, Appendix, Note vi.

⁴ *Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 38. On 9th February, 1545, Malcolm, commendator of Whithorn, in Galloway, petitioned the privy council of Scotland to have a tax with which he was charged, remitted, on account of his having lost the fruits of two kirks, in the Isle of Man.—*Caledonia*, vol. iii, p. 419.

1541, "That the bishop hath no power to present any person to the vicarage or to any living, except the four which are in his own gift, without the lord's own special presentation, or take any church into lapse, for it is the lord's prerogative royal, as he is the immediate metropolitan of the holy church within the Isle."¹ The livings in the gift of the bishop are those of Patrick, German, Jurby, and Braddan.²

Thomas Stanley was Bishop of Man in 1542. In that year, the act 33rd Henry VIII, cap. 31, came into operation, for severing the bishopric of Sodor and Man from the province of Canterbury and making it part of the province of York. It may be inferred that previous to the enactment of that statute, the Bishop of Man had been consecrated by the metropolitan Bishop of England, as he was, at the date of the above act, suffragan of that see. These measures of the English monarch appeared to Bishop Stanley an undue extension of the prerogative of his crown, and were, therefore, opposed by him; but this collision was settled in the year 1545 by the deposition of the bishop from his diocese.³

When we recollect that king Olave, in 1102, then a tributary of Norway, granted part of his lands in Man towards building the abbey of Rushen, enriched the estate of the church with revenues, and endowed it "with great liberties," and that Henry IV, when the Island had fallen into the possession of the English, assigned it to John Stanley, with all the royalties and patronage of the bishopric, it is not easy to discover the grounds upon which Henry VIII acted, in assuming the vested rights and property of the church, and placing the same at his own disposal.

¹ *MS. Statute Book*, anno 1541; *Tit. Spiritual Men*.

² *Isle of Man Charities*, printed 1831, p. 58.

³ *Bishop Hildesley's Manuscript in the British Museum*, ap. *Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 89.

Bishop Stanley was succeeded by Robert Ferrar, who, in the year 1555, was translated to St. David's. The successor in the bishopric of Sodor and Man, was Henry Man, who did not long enjoy his office, as he died in 1556. In the same year, Thomas Stanley, the bishop who had been deposed, was restored by Queen Mary, and at the same time, appointed governor of the Island, thus becoming what is termed a *sword bishop*.¹

Besides wielding the sword and the crosier, Bishop Stanley found time, also, to woo the muses. Seacome, the historian of the house of Stanley, has inserted in his work at length, a doggerel poem, with this copious title, "A right true and most faithful Chronicle, setting forth without any fraud or adulterating flatterage, the noble and notable acts of the Stanleys (ungentlye to be left out of other chronicles); it declareth, also, the Stanley's descent, and how they came, and by what means, by the name of Stanley, and commencement thereof, good and perfect, agragated and compiled by Thomas Stanley, by permission of God, Bishop of Man, *alias* Soder, in the year of our Lord God, 1562."²

Mr. Ward, on the authority, I presume, of the manuscript which he examined in the British Museum, asserts that Thomas Stanley died in possession of the bishopric of

¹ *Sword-bishop* is tantamount to governor-bishop, or military commander of the priestly order. When the governor goes in procession to the Tynwald, the sword of state is carried before him. The term sword-bishop is probably derived from the ceremony observed when the offices of governor and bishop were united in the same person, a custom that appears to be of northern origin. The Bishop of Riga, himself a sword-bishop, instituted, in the year 1201, the military order of the "militia of Christ," composed solely of ecclesiastics. Pope Innocent III gave this new order the rule of the templars, and directed them to wear the badge of the cross and sword embroidered on their tunics.—*Crichton's Scandinavia*, vol. i, cap. vi. At a much later period, Scotland had a *civilian bishop*. In the Grey-Friars church-yard, Edinburgh, is a tombstone bearing the following inscription :—"Here lyes Lord Adam Bothwell, Bishop of *Orkney* and *Zeland*, *Senator of College of Justice*, and one of the lords of his majesty's privy council, who died 23rd August, 1593, in the 67th year of his age."—*Monumental Inscriptions*, Glasgow, 1834, p. 36. An equally singular combination of offices in the same person.

² *Seacome's History of the House of Stanley*, pp. 473, 474.—Nattall's edition.

Man.¹ This does not agree with the statement of Seacome.

Edward Stanley, who, for his valorous actions, was created, by his sovereign, Lord Monteagle, married a daughter of Sir Anthony Brown, governor of Calais, and by her had a son named Thomas, who was some time Bishop of the Isle of Man, but on the death of his father, becoming Lord Monteagle, he resigned that see.²

On the resignation of Lord Monteagle, John Salisbury succeeded to the bishopric of Man.

"At a Tynwald, held on 13th July, in the year 1577, near the chapel of St. John's, before the Right Honourable Henry Earl of Derby, his barons and clerks, council and assembly of the Island, John Merix (Merrick) was called in and sworn bishop, according to law ;"³ and was also appointed governor of the Island. Bishop Merrick drew up the account of the Island, published in *Camden's Britannia*.

Three years afterward, George Lloyd filled the bishopric, and upon being translated to the see of Chester, in 1605, was succeeded by William Foster, of whom, although he appears to have held the see of Man for thirty years, nothing further is known.⁴

The history of the Saxon Heptarchy is not more barren of events than the accounts handed down to us of the early Bishops of Man. Their non-residence in the Island, with other causes referred to in the following extract from a letter, written by James Earl of Derby, to his son, a few years later than we are here treating of, may partly account for so little being known of them at the present

¹ *Ward's Ancient Records*, pp. 36, 89.

² *History of the House of Stanley*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 49.

³ *MS. Statute Book of the Island; Tit. Spiritual Men*.

⁴ *Bullock's History of the Isle of Man*, p. 148. In some catalogues of the Manks Bishops, Foster is placed after Phillips, but as only his name has reached our times, it is a matter of little consequence.

time:—"Choose for your bishop a reverend and holy man, who may carefully see the whole clergy do their duty ; but not any person already beneficed in England ; and oblige him you choose to reside in the Island.¹ By the law and custom here, the bishop might lease any part of the bishopric for twenty-one years, or for lives, or for farther time, as it is at present ; by which, you see, few bishops have enjoyed the full benefice of their see, having contented themselves with having been called Lords, without due regard to their revenues or any obligation of residence ; but in a few years the leases will be all expired, and then the bishopric will be worth having ; and considering the cheapness of the place, I know few bishops in England who can live better than he. And I herein consider this, that if the greatest part of the bishopric be leased, you will find few worthy men will accept the place ; and if men are beneficed already, they will not care to live in the Isle, which all the clergy ought to do. Have great care that the bishops be not of a factious disposition, and let him be of your own choosing rather than by recommendation, so he will show greater obligation to you, and be noways dependant on any other, no, not even of York."²

The next bishop on record is John Phillips, who was consecrated in 1635. It is said, that being a native of North Wales, he was so much master of the Gælic language as to translate into Manks the common prayer-book, and, according to Mr. Challoner,³ the bible also, although the latter is not now extant. Mr. Camden says, also, that "the bible was translated into the Manks

¹ At a Tynwald, held 7th December, 1696, it was enacted, "That every bishop, archdeacon, parson, vicar or curate, or person holding any personal office in the Island, who absented himself from his charge more than four months in any year, forfeited one half-year's amount of his stipend or salary, the first time, and the second time, a year's stipend or salary."

² *Roll's History of the Isle of Man*, edition 1773, p. 63.

³ *Ap. Seacome*, Liverpool edition, p. 47 ; *Bullock's History*, p. 148.

tongue by Dr. Phillips, Bishop of Man, but by reason of his death, it never came to the press, so that the ministers read the scriptures to the people in the Manks language, out of the English bible."¹ This, however, seems to be a mistake, as no translation of the scriptures into Manks took place till long after the time of Phillips.*

According to Waldron, "The clergy held a tyrannical jurisdiction over the Manks people, and they take care to maintain their authority by keeping the laity in the most miserable ignorance, not that this is altogether policy, for he cannot well instruct who wants to be taught himself. Books written in the Manks tongue, they have none, except a catechism and instructions for youth, with some prayers, not many years since compiled."²

The writer of this extract held an official situation under government, during the reign of king George I, in the Isle of Man, which was a century subsequent to the time of Phillips, and even then the common prayer-book had not been many years translated into the Manks language.

Bishop Phillips was one of the most celebrated preachers of his time, and was highly eminent for the amiable qualities of his nature. He died the same year in which he was consecrated, and was succeeded by Dr. Richard Parr, who was inducted in 1637. He was a native of Lancashire, and a cotemporary with governor Challoner at Brazen Nose College, in Oxford, who speaks highly of him in his concise *Description of the Isle of Man*. During his time, many ordinances and practices of the clergy were reformed in consequence of the great resistance of the people³ and the interference of James, Earl of Derby, who, in the opinion of that nobleman, were on the eve of a general rebellion,

¹ *Britannia*, folio edition, 1695, p. 1069.

* Appendix, Note iii, "Translation of Scriptures into Manks."

² *Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, folio 1731, pp. 7, 112.

³ *Bullock's History*, London, 1816, page 148.

when he landed in the Island.¹ Many small tithes were required to be paid at the church on Easter Sunday, on pain of exclusion from the communion. These were commuted and the lesser excommunications abolished, which was considered a great boon by the people. What a degrading scene the collecting of these tithes must have been? The words of the statutes are "Whereas it is a great complaint of the country that by the spiritual laws here, they are forced to pay tithe butter and tithe cheese on the sabbath day, upon the altar, in the church, where there often falls out great contention betwixt the ministers and the proctors, on the one part, and the people who are to pay the same, on the other part; and sometimes the people who are to pay are put upon their oath for such trivial matters." "His lordship therefore orders, that from henceforth, no more tithe butter or cheese shall be paid in manner aforesaid, but, in lieu thereof, farmers, cotters, and all others who ought to pay such tithe, shall, at Easter, when they account for their other duties to the church, pay four pence for every cow that had a calf that year, and two pence for every fallow cow, and one penny for every four milk sheep, and one penny for every two milk goats."² The character of the bishop was not much calculated to allay the discontents of the people; he was a notorious gamester, but not always fortunate. Ewan Christian, one of the deemsters of the Island, won five hundred pounds from him at play, with which he purchased the manor of Ewanrigg, in Cumberland, still possessed by that family.³

After the see having been seventeen years vacant, Samuel Rutter, who had been tutor to Charles, Lord Strange, and long Archdeacon in the Isle of Man, suc-

¹ *Seacombe's History of the House of Stanley*, Liverpool, 1741, p. 87.

² *Apud Castrum de Rushen*, 30th October, 1643.

³ *Historical Notices of Edward and William Christian*, page 17.

ceeded to the bishopric in 1661. He was a friend and companion of the great Earl of Derby, who, in his letters to his son Lord Strange, expresses a high opinion of the prelate.¹ He wrote poetry for the earl's amusement, which down to a late period, was popular in the Island. Bishop Rutter governed the church with exemplary goodness and piety till the time of his death in 1663.² After his demise, Dr. Isaac Barrow was consecrated bishop in 1663, and at the same time appointed governor of the Island, thus uniting in his person the two highest offices in the state. When king Charles II advanced Dr. Barrow to the dignity of master of Trinity College, Cambridge, his majesty was pleased to say "He had given it to the best scholar in England;" and he spoke from his own knowledge, the doctor being his majesty's chaplain. The king, when often conversing with Dr. Barrow, used, in his humorous way, to remark that he was an unfair preacher "because he exhausted every subject and left nothing for any other after him to say."

The services of this eminent divine to the cause of religion, during the short time he held the see of Sodor and Man, has caused his memory to be revered by every class of the Manks people, but the clergy, in particular, owe much to his exertions in their behalf.

In an indenture, dated first November, 1666, made with the Earl of Derby, he thus describes the situation

¹ *Seacombe's History*,—Earl of Derby's second Letter to Lord Strange.

² Among the inscriptions in the cathedral, was the following singular one, on a brass plate, over the tomb of Bishop Rutter, written by himself; the plate was a few years since stolen and carried away—it is supposed by some casual visitors; such a daring and criminal act ought to meet with a very severe punishment:

✓ "In hac domo, quam a vermiculus
Mutuo accepi confratribus meis;
Sub spe resurrectionis ad Vitam,
Jaceo Saml. permissione divina
Episcopus hujus Insule: Siste, lector,
Vide ac ride, palatium Episcopi!
Ob. 30mo. die Mensis Mali, 1663,"

—*Feltham's Tour*, p. 212.

of the Manks clergy :—" The maintenance for the ministers of the gospel, settled within this Isle, is very small by reason whereof many of the ministers are forced to live in mean condition, far unbecoming their callings, and likewise are necessitated for the gaining and obtaining of a livelihood for themselves and their families, to betake themselves to mean and inferior employments to the diminution of the honour of their function and profession."¹

For the better support of these poor vicars, he set a subscription on foot in England, where he raised, chiefly by liberal contributions from the dignified clergy, the sum of £1,041 8s. 4d., and by his personal influence with the king, he obtained a grant of £100 per annum to be paid out of the revenue of excise for ever.^{2*} These sums amounted together, in the year 1670, to £1,341 8s. 4d.

The Earl of Derby, either as lord or abbot, was entitled to one third part of the whole tithes of the Island. A part of these he disposed of, upon a lease of ten thousand years, to Bishop Barrow, for the sum of £1,100, leaving a balance of £241 8s. 4d. at the bishop's disposal, which, was, with other benefactions by Bishop Wilson,³ applied towards erecting a free school at Castletown. This has been called the " Academic Master's Fund."⁴

By his will, dated seventh July, 1668, Bishop Barrow says, " I give my lease of £20 per annum, which I purchased from the Earl of Derby, of the lands, known by

¹ *List of the Isle of Man Charities*, printed 1831, page 9.

² By the statute 27th George III, the sum of £2,000,000 sterling was to be raised by a tax of twenty per cent upon income, in the year 1787, which extended to the Isle of Man. But the 106th section of that act provided that, " This enactment shall not charge the pension of £100 per annum, granted by King Charles II, to the poor clergy of the Isle of Man."

* Appendix, Note iv, " Royal Bounty."

³ *Bishop Wilson's Works*, published by Cruttwell, page 456.

⁴ *Manks Charities*, 1831, p. 24.—The old chapel at Castletown, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and consecrated A.D. 1250, was long occupied as a public seminary, called " The Barrow Institution."

the name of Ballagilly and Hango Hill,¹ towards the maintenance of three boys at the academic school, when it shall be settled: my intention is that these boys, by their education, be qualified to supply the clergy of this Island upon a vacancy in any living, and that, therefore, no boys shall be taken into any of these places, till security be given by his friends that, upon the call of the bishop, he shall immediately return to the Island, take holy orders, and supply the vacant living or pay back such monies² as he hath received of their gift." The benefaction is now called "The Academic Student's Fund."

These great designs were all accomplished during the short time that Bishop Barrow held the see of Man. To the great loss of the Island, he was translated to the see of St. Asaph; but the exact year appears uncertain.³

Dr. Henry Bridgeman, dean of Chester, succeeded Bishop Barrow in the see of Man, after whom John Luke filled that high office, but was translated to Bristol in 1684, and next year to the see of Chester. He was one of the six bishops imprisoned for a libel against king James II.⁴

¹ On 5th July, 1836, a bill was brought before the Tynwald court, to enable the trustees of Bishop Barrow's charities, to sell, upon building leases, plots of the trust estate.

² *Isle of Man Charities*, p. 35.

³ "From the year of our Lord 1664 to the present year 1670, Isaac Barrow, being Bishop of the Island." Again, "At the translation of that bishop from that bishopric unto St. Asaph, in the year 1670."—*Isle of Man Charities*, 1831, p. 4. Dr. Oswald, in his *Isle of Man Guide*, p. 40, says, "Isaac Barrow was Bishop of Man from 1663 to 1671." "Isaac Barrow only sat two years Bishop of Man."—*Bullock's History of the Isle of Man*, page 149. But by an extract from the *Exchequer Book*, A.D. 1668, "I hereby acknowledge to have received from the Right Reverend Dr. Isaac Barrow, the present Bishop of St. Asaph."—*Isle of Man Charities*, 1831, page 24. It thus plainly appear that some of these quotations are not correct.

⁴ When James II published a second declaration of indulgence, in 1688, Luke, Bishop of Chichester, and five other prelates met privately with the primate, and concerted a petition to the king, representing that as this declaration was founded on a prerogative formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not, in prudence, honour, or conscience, make themselves parties to its distribution over the kingdom.—*Hume's History of England*, cap. 70.—After William succeeded to the crown, Bishop Luke refused to take the oath of allegiance, and was therefore deprived.

Baptist Levenge, who died in 1693, was the next prelate of Sodor and Man. Contrary to the usual custom, he appears to have sat in the House of Lords in his episcopal robes,¹ where a seat was erected for him immediately above the bar.² After remaining four years vacant, the see was filled by the pious and venerable Thomas Wilson, whose life is intimately connected with the history of the Island for a period of nearly sixty years, during which period nearly all the energies of his capacious mind were devoted to the spiritual welfare of the flock over which he presided.

Bishop Wilson was born at Burton, in the county Palatine of Chester, in 1663, and finished his studies for the church at Trinity College, Dublin. On his return to England, he was licensed curate of New Church, in the parish of Winwick, Lancashire, where he became known to the Earl of Derby, who, in 1692, appointed him his domestic chaplain and tutor to Lord Strange. In 1697, he promoted him to the bishopric of Sodor and Man; and he was enthroned in the cathedral, in Peel Castle, on 11th April, 1698. When he first took possession of this see, he found the residence appropriated to him, in ruins,³ the churches throughout the diocese in a falling state, the clergy sunk into ignorance and vice,* and the inhabitants in general greatly debased by the illicit trade which they followed. To correct these fundamental errors, by directing their attention to agricultural pursuits, he, in conjunction with the House of Keys, prevailed upon the Earl of Derby, to grant the Act of Settlement, passed in 1703.

¹ *Jeffery's Account of the Isle of Man*, page 141.

² *Wood's History*, p. 85.

³ On rebuilding this palace, Bishop Wilson probably gave it the modern name of *Bishop's Court*. At a very early period, it was called *Herinstad*, (*Johnstone's Cello Normannica*, Copenhagen, 1786, appendix), and by a later historian, *Bali-Curi*, (*Gibson's Camden Britannia*, vol. ii, p. 1441), which we are of opinion was its name when Bishop Wilson took possession of the see.

* Appendix, Note v, "Account of the Manks Clergy."

He caused the churches to be repaired, and gave suitable directions to his clergy for the discharge of their pastoral duties. By the neglect of former incumbents, the tithes had been suffered to lapse; and a practice had crept in of excluding the estates of the principal civil officers from that species of taxation which at length came to be set up as an indefeasible right. The impoverished state of the church revenues was a sufficient warrant for Bishop Wilson to annul these usurped privileges, but he found much opposition; and in the prosecution of this matter, much animosity was engendered on both sides.

The Clerk of the Rolls refused to pay the sum charged against him as tithes, whereupon the bishop issued his *precept*, and committed him to the dungeon of Kirk German; and when the prisoner prayed to be heard in his own defence, the bishop wrote on the back of the petition with his own hand, "That such hearing was not customary, and would not be allowed."¹

Although, according to the ecclesiastical law of the Isle of Man, a process may be commenced in the Bishop's Court, which does not even require a hearing on both sides, or a notice to the defendant, we are naturally shocked at the idea of a claim, however well founded, being arbitrarily enforced. Well might the lord-chancellor King say of the ecclesiastical code, framed by Bishop Wilson, in the year 1703, "If the ancient discipline of the church was lost elsewhere, it might be found in all its pomp in the Isle of Man."²* He manifested an attachment ap-

¹ *Bullock*, page 166.

² At a convocation of the clergy, at Bishop's Court, on 3rd February, 1703, "It was constituted to oblige men to submit to the discipline of the gospel, that if any person incur the censure of the church, and after having done penance, offend again, he shall not presume to come within the walls of the church, but he shall be obliged to stand at the church door every Sunday and holy day, the whole of the morning and evening service, till, by his penitent behaviour, he procures certificates from the minister and churchwardens, which if he does not obtain within three months, he shall be excommunicated; and no one shall converse with him, upon pain of being partaker with him in his sin and punishment."—*Lex Scripta of the Isle of Man*, p. 186.

* Appendix, Note vi, "Discipline of the Manks Church formerly."

proaching to bigotry to the crown and the church. He shrunk from every question that tended to disturb the faith either of himself or of his flock, and even excluded discussion on such points. He suspended a clergyman in the Island for hazarding a doubt in one of his discourses—whether the power of granting absolution for sin had really devolved from the apostles to their successors in the ministry.¹

Of the disinterested purity of the bishop's motives in making these offensive claims, there is no reason to doubt; but he appears to have often exercised his pastoral authority with a tyrannical hand; and he was undoubtedly a foe both to civil and religious liberty, which involved him in difficulties, with which, as a pastor, he should have had no concern.

He caused a copy of *The Independent Whig* to be carried off from a public library, because he supposed it to be inimical to the true government of the church; but the governor, captain Horne, in opposition to the bishop, imprisoned the person who had acted under the prelate's authority, till the book was restored. This led to more serious disputes between the governor and the bishop. Mary Hendrick, of Douglas, was presented by the churchwardens on the 29th May, 1715, for having committed adultery with Isaac Allgood, of the same place, and on the 5th day of June following, was legally convicted of that crime by the ecclesiastical court. But from this decision she appealed to the governor, as representative of the Earl of Derby in the Island, who, by an order of

¹ *Bullock's History of the Isle of Man*, pp. 166, 167. The punishment for a minor offence is thus described by Bishop Wilson:—"The penitent, clothed in a white sheet, is brought into the church, immediately before the litany, and there continues, standing upright, till the sermon be ended; and after a proper exhortation from the pastor, the congregation are desired to pray for him, thus he is dealt with, every Sunday, till received again into the church.—*Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 58. Dr. Knox condemns the bishop's zeal for ecclesiastical discipline, as intemperate and severe.—*Winter Evenings*, vol. i. See *Essay on Bishop Wilson and his Writings*.

30th July, 1717, appointed the 23rd December following to hear this appeal, and officially intimated the same to the bishop, that he might either attend himself to defend his case or give directions to one of his vicars-general or other official person to do so ; but notwithstanding such intimation, neither the bishop nor any person for him attended at the time and place appointed to give the information required by the governor ; whereupon, " At Castle Rushen, on the 19th February, 1718, in a court held before the governor, deemsters, and officers, the bishop, for disobedience and contempt of the governor's said order and of the prerogative of the lord of the Isle, was fined and discerned in the sum of ten pounds."

It appears, however, that the governor insisted on having, by his office, authority to call the bishop, personally, to account for what might seem to him an infringement of the lord's prerogative.

" At Peeltown, 3rd October, 1718.—The governor having this day called the bishop before us to give his reasons why my Lord Derby's order was not complied with, in relation to the hearing of the appeal of Mary Hendrick before his lordship. The bishop's answer was, that there was no appeal in that case.

(Signed) J. Rowe, Clerk of the Rolls."

On following up the records, I find by an entry¹ dated 7th August, 1719, that the fine of ten pounds, awarded against the bishop, was remitted by the Earl of Derby.

Mrs. Horne, the governor's lady, had falsely defamed a lady of her acquaintance, and because she refused to acknowledge her crime, was interdicted by the bishop from receiving the communion. The governor's chaplain, however, admitted her to receive the sacrament ; but for this, he was suspended from his office by the bishop. This so

¹ The particulars of this case, which I understand has not hitherto appeared in print, were extracted for this work from the original Records of the Island, kept in Castle Rushen, by my friend Dr. Underwood, of Castletown.

irritated the governor, that he obtained an order of Tynwald, fining the bishop in the sum of £50, and his two vicars each in the sum of £20, for illegal and extra-judicial proceeding in suspending Archdeacon Horrobin. For refusing to pay these penalties, they were all committed to the dungeon of Castle Rushen, by order of the governor, where, for two months, they were in every respect treated like persons confined for high treason.

Meanwhile the case was fully stated by the bishop in a petition to the king in council. It was rejected on the grounds of informality, as the application for redress, on the part of the prisoners, should have been made to the Earl of Derby. When the matter was referred to that nobleman, he replied, "That not having had any previous intimation of the proceedings from any of the constituted authorities of the Isle of Man, he could give no answer to the complaint; but that he believed the persons complained of to be well-meaning men, and no doubt the matter in the bishop's petition was misrepresented."

The result of this business, after two years' prosecution, was that the whole proceedings were declared illegal, and the fines were of course reversed; but for recovery of damages from the governor, or even the costs of suit, no provision was made. The suspension of the Archdeacon Horrobin was cancelled by the bishop;¹ but whether governor Horne submitted to the terms, I have not been able to ascertain.

The expenses of this long protracted suit fell heavily on the bishop, having amounted to upwards of £500, of which he received £300, raised by subscription to assist him in carrying on the cause.²

¹ The Reverend Robert Horrobin resigned his charge in the Isle of Man, as appears by an instrument, in his own hand writing, dated 16th May, 1727. He removed to the living of Winfrith, in Dorsetshire, where he died in 1729.—*Cruttwell's Life of Bishop Wilson*.

² *Bullock's History*, page 177.

In the year 1730, the Rev. Dr. Wilson proposed to his father, the bishop, to establish a fund for the support of clergymen's widows and children in the Isle of Man, which was the more necessary, as, from the smallness of the livings, few were able to make a living for their families. To this the bishop readily agreed, and by the assistance of Mrs. Crow, Mrs. Leving, the late bishop's widow, Lady Elizabeth Hastings, and others, a sum of money was raised and placed in the English funds, the interest of which, amounting to £12 a year, was appropriated to that purpose. Some years after, the benevolent proposer of this institution, assisted by some of his friends, considerably enlarged it, by purchasing of the late Duke of Atholl, the thirds of the living of Kirk Michael, which he made over to trustees for the use of that charity for ever.¹

In the year 1739, the clergy of Man were threatened to be deprived of their means of subsistence, which consisted of a third of the impropriations originally purchased from the Earl of Derby by Bishop Barrow, these being claimed by the Duke of Atholl as an inseparable appendage to his estate and royalty.* The deeds of conveyance could not be found, and the clergy were in danger of losing the benefit of the impropriations altogether; but Bishop Wilson, and his son Thomas, who was prebendary of Westminster,² did not cease their researches until the deeds were discovered in the Rolls' Chapel, London; and being exemplified in 1745, under the great seal of England,

¹ By a copy of an account of this fund, audited and balanced before the vicars-general, and James M'Crone, agent, in May, 1825, the interest of it amounted to £110 3s.—*Isle of Man Charities*, printed 1831, p. 48.

* Appendix, Note vii, "Stipend of the Clergy."

² "One of the first acts performed by George III, after his accession to the throne, was to issue an order prohibiting any of the clergy who should be called to preach before him, from paying any compliments in their discourses. His majesty was led to do this from the fulsome adulations which Dr. Thomas Wilson, prebendary of Westminster, thought proper to deliver in the Chapel Royal, and, for which, instead of thanks, he received a severe reprimand."—*Court Anecdotes*, London, p. 10.

the security of the impropriations was established to the great relief of the parties concerned.

On account of a great scarcity of corn in 1740, an embargo was laid on the ports of Great Britain against the exportation of grain, which occasioned great distress in the Isle of Man, where the corn raised was always inadequate in amount, even in the best seasons, to the consumption of the Island. To alleviate the sufferings of the people, the good bishop distributed his own grain gratis, to the most needy, and sold a large quantity which he had purchased, far below the original cost. To increase the calamity, an epidemic disease broke out, and the bishop being the only physician in the Island, his bodily fatigue in visiting the sick, was incessant. He caused a petition to be presented to the king, praying for a removal of the embargo, so far as regarded the Isle of Man, and received a supply of corn just in time to save many of the people from the last effects of famine.

Nothing could more strongly evince his paternal care of his favoured people, than the various exhortations delivered by him to the clergy. He required of them the most scrupulous regard to their own character and conduct, as the only means of giving efficacy to their doctrine. He insisted on the duties of visiting and catechising the uninformed, and furnishing each parish with books of devotion and instruction. His own words are, "By the encouragement and assistance of my worthy friend, Dr. Bray, and other benefactors, in 1699, I began a foundation of parochial libraries in my diocese, which, by the blessing of God, I have ever since been improving with books, practical and devotional."¹ These libraries were afterwards protected by an act of Tynwald.*

The annual return of the episcopal revenues of Bishop

¹ *Life of Bishop Wilson*, p. 58; *Isle of Man Charities*, p. 135.

* Appendix, Note viii, "Parochial Libraries."

Wilson, in money, did not exceed £300. The rest was received in corn, a great part of which he bartered for cloth or yarn, to supply the wants of the poor in the Island. Tailors and shoemakers were kept constantly at work in his house, to make clothes and kerrans of the cloth and leather which his corn had purchased. These were distributed in gifts or at low prices, according to the extent of their wants, to all who applied for them. He kept a register of all the poor in his diocese, in which he entered the names and circumstances of his pensioners. This he called his *Marticula Pauperum*.¹ The first book ever printed in the Manks language, entitled, *The Principles and Duties of Christians*, was published in 1699 by Bishop Wilson.²

During his long pastoral life, he never, unless visited by sickness, omitted to perform some part of the church duty on every Sabbath day. He was offered an English bishopric by Queen Anne, but declined accepting it, as he thought he could be more useful in the Isle of Man than elsewhere. In 1744, he purchased some land, which he added to the living of Jurby. In 1755, his solicitations added to those of his son, obtained the renewal of the royal bounty to the clergy, which had been suspended for several years.

This excellent prelate was an eminent theological writer, his works consist of religious tracts, sermons, and a short account of the Isle of Man.³

¹ "If we even view him as a farmer," says one of his biographers, "we find that, by judicious cultivation, he improved the ecclesiastical demesnes, so that in a few years, he fed and clothed the poor from lands that, before his coming, produced almost nothing. His coffin was made of one of the elm trees planted and cut down by himself."—*Ward's Ancient Records*, pp. 51, 52.

² *Stowell's Life of Bishop Wilson*, ap. *Lord Teignmouth's Sketches*, chap. xx.

³ Bishop Wilson's Life was translated into French, by the Rev. Mr. Bourdilon, but was not published. His works were first published in two vols. 4to. Then in two vols. folio, in numbers. Then in eight vols. 8vo. The Sermons have had six editions. His complete works four editions; out of every edition of the works complete, twenty

Mr. Moore, of Douglas, was once witness to a pleasing and singular instance of the bishop's attention to some aged poor people of the Island: As he was distributing spectacles to some whose eyesight had failed them, Mr. Moore expressed his surprise, as he knew not one of them could read a letter; "No matter," said the bishop, with a smile, "these spectacles will help them to thread a needle, to mend their clothes, or, if need be, to keep themselves free from vermin."¹ He had commenced a translation of the scriptures into the Manks language,² when his progress was arrested by death, on the 5th March, 1755, in

pounds were paid by direction of the late Rev. Dr. Wilson, to the fund for supporting the widows of the clergy. These works may be had in the following forms:

In eight volumes, 8vo., his works complete, with his life, compiled from his own MSS. and other authentic papers, by the Rev. C. Cruttwell. Price £2 8s. in boards.

The four volumes of Sermons, each containing twenty-five Discourses, may be had, price £1 4s. in boards.

The Bishop's Life and Tracts may also be had in four volumes.

Vol. 1. The Bishop's Life, and History of the Isle of Man.

Vol. 2. Instruction for the better Understanding of the Lord's Supper; and *Sacra Privata*.

Vol. 3. The Knowledge and Practice of Christianity made easy to the meanest Capacities; Observations for reading the Historical Books of the Old Testament, &c.

Vol. 4. *Parochialia*, or Instructions for the Clergy; Maxims of Piety and Christianity, &c.

In two volumes, 12mo., thirty-three Sermons of Bishop Wilson, selected by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Also, in three vols. royal 4to., a most elegant edition of The Holy Bible, with the Notes of Bishop Wilson; and the variations of all the English translations, collected by the Rev. C. Cruttwell.

IN SEPARATE TRACTS.

1. *Sacra Privata*;—The Private Meditations and Prayers of Bishop Wilson, accommodated to general use.

2. *Parochialia*; or, Instructions for the Clergy in the Discharge of their Duty.

3. Maxims of Piety and of Christianity, alphabetically arranged. Also reprinted for the Use of Sunday Schools.

4. The Principles and Duties of Christianity; being a further Instruction for such as have learned the Church Catechism, &c.

¹ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, fourth edition, vol. xx.

² It appears that down to the year 1775, there was only one book printed in the Manks language. "The Manks tongue is the only one spoken by the common people, who are natives. The clergy preach and read the Common Prayer in it; however, a short Catechism, carefully taught in the schools, is the only printed book they have."—*Campbell's Political Survey of Great Britain*, Dublin, edit. 1775, vol. ii, page 538.

the ninety-third year of his age, and fifty-eighth of his ministry.¹

The tenants about his demesnes were the persons appointed to bear the bishop to his grave; and each had a mourning coat given him for the occasion. But, from his palace, he was attended to his last resting place, in the church-yard of Kirk Michael, by nearly the whole population of the Island, so great was the anguish of his flock when deprived of their beloved pastor.

A plain tombstone, with a modest inscription, marks the spot where the remains of this venerable prelate are laid. Many of the good bishop's benefactions appear in the list of Manks charities drawn up by order of the British government. In the year 1714, he founded a church in the parish of Kirk Patrick, which, for many ages, had been destitute of a regular place of worship, and he expended the sum of £112 in the purchase of a glebe for the vicar. He also purchased a glebe for the vicar of Kirk German, as appears by a deed, recorded in the Seneschal's Office, dated 30th April, 1739. He endowed the vicarage of Braddan with the lands of Ballacretney, and he purchased a glebe for the vicar of Kirk Michael, as appears from a deed, dated October, 1743. He likewise founded a school at Peel for the education of girls, with a suitable endowment for the maintenance of a female teacher. Parochial libraries were also established by him throughout the Island.²

¹ Bishop Wilson was assisted in his translation of the scriptures into the Manks language by a gentleman, to whose memory a marble monument is erected in the chancel of the old chapel of Kirk Braddan, with this inscription :—" Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Philip Moore, Rector of Kilbride. His education was completed under the auspices of the good Bishop Wilson, and he made a grateful return for this singular advantage. He was principally concerned in revising the memorable translation of the Holy Scriptures into the *Manks language*. He was born at Douglas, 1705, and died there January, 1783." The first book ever published in the Manks language was published by Bishop Wilson in 1699, entitled *The Principles and Duties of Christians*.—*Ap. Stowell's Life of Bishop Wilson*.

² *Isle of Man Charities*, printed 1831, pp. 57, 64, 74, 112.

On the demise of Bishop Wilson, the Duke of Atholl, in whose person the patronage of the see was vested, waived his right of nomination and referred it to the bench of English Bishops to point out a man worthy of wearing the mitre, which the late prelate had so much adorned. Doctor Mark Hildesley, rector of Hitchin, in Hertfordshire, was unanimously recommended by the English Bishops, as a person, in every respect, eminently qualified to fill the vacant see. He was consequently consecrated Bishop of Man on the 25th of March, 1755.

Immediately on his appointment, Doctor Hildesley set about completing the translation of the scriptures into Manks, begun by his predecessor in office, who, at his own expense, had printed the gospel of St. Matthew. With the assistance of the clergy, therefore, he completed the other Evangelists and the Acts of the Apostles.

So deeply interested was he in the accomplishment of this design, that he was often heard to say, "He only wished to live to see it finished, and then he would be happy."

By the aid of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, he succeeded in printing in the Manks language the *New Testament*, the *Book of Common Prayer*, and *Bishop Wilson's Form of Prayer* for the use of fishermen. On Saturday, 28th November, 1772, he received the last part of the translation of the bible. On Monday following, he was seized with a stroke of palsy, which deprived him of his intellectual powers, and he calmly expired on the 7th December, deeply regretted by the inhabitants of his diocese, to whom he was greatly endeared by his amiable manners and active benevolence.¹

¹ *Hartwell Home's Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures*, London, 1822, vol ii, p. 67.

When Bishop Hildesley was at Scarborough in 1764, the following lines were stuck up in the Spa room, and were taken down by him; and after his death, found

Among many other charitable benefactions by Bishop Hildesley was a school at Kirk Michael, where about thirty scholars are taught.¹ Sunday-school instruction originated with Bishop Hildesley in the Isle of Man, where this great work of christian charity was practised with peculiar success, before it was commenced elsewhere. Down to the time of Bishop Hildesley, the Bishops of Man were approached on the knee; but he abolished that obsequious and degrading custom; when addressing his flock, he generally did so from the rostrum, although there is a throne for the bishop in almost every parish church in the Island.

The three next Bishops of Man, in succession, were Dr. Richmond, Dr. Mason, and Claudius Cregan. The first, it seems, was only remarkable for his unbending haughtiness. The second was disgraced by a derangement in his circumstances, utterly inconsistent with his station. And the last, from the absence of all energy of mind, could not sustain the dignity of his office.²

(in 1773) by his sister among his Scarborough bills, with this memorandum: that he preserved it only on surmise, that it was done by way of banter:—

“ If to paint *Folly*, till her friends despise,
And *Virtue*, till her foes would fain be wise;
If angel-sweetness—if a godlike mind
That melts with Jesus over all mankind;
If this can form a bishop—and it can,
Tho’ *Lawn* was wanting—*Hildesley’s* the man.”

Under which was written by the bishop:—“ From vain glory in human applause,
Deus me liberet et conservet.” Some notices of him may be seen in the *Life of Bishop Wilson*, by the Rev. Mr. Cruttwell.

¹ *Isle of Man Charities*, 1831, p. 74,

² *Bullock*, p. 186. At that time, the inferior clergy do not seem to have been more popular than the bishops. “ There was a prodigious outcry in Douglas, last evening, against the two vicars-general drawing together at Kirk Michael, a vast concourse of people, from every part of the Island, to one of their spiritual court-meetings for the probate of wills and debts, and then deserting them, after fingering a good deal of cash, under an excuse that they must dine with the bishop, but would only stay an hour, and then would return and finish the business of the day. Under that pretext, they kept the people starving and waiting for several hours, and then sent a message that no more business could be transacted that day. It is said his lordship gives his guests most excellent wine. Many very old persons had fourteen

The honourable George Murray, son of Lord George Murray, Bishop of St. David's, and nephew of the Duke of Atholl, succeeded Claudius Cregan; but at the death of that prelate, the bishop-elect being under the age, at which, by the canons of the church, he could receive the pall, the see remained vacant till 1813, when he was consecrated Bishop of Man. The young bishop became very unpopular in his diocese, by attempting to commute the tithes of his see for a fixed annual revenue of £6,000, and when that project failed, by striving to enforce the collection of a tithe of all the green crops,¹ which had been in disuetude since the time of Bishop Wilson.

Having obtained a judgment in his favour, before the king and council, he proceeded to collect a tithe of potatoes, "which produced so much alarm and dissatisfaction, that in November, 1825, menacing tumults and assemblages of the country people, amounting, on several occasions, to many hundreds, became general throughout the Island. They were too numerous and too powerful for the small body of troops, stationed there, to control, and, on more than one occasion, they proceeded to violence and fire raising. The disorders eventually became so alarming, that the bishop deemed it prudent to waive his claim." To the measures, which they had thus so unanimously resisted in 1825, the inhabitants voluntarily submitted in 1837.²

or fifteen miles to travel after that late notice—shame on such behaviour. Another, James Earl of Derby is wanting to keep such ecclesiastics within their proper bounds, and prevent them from tyrannising over, and fleecing, unmercifully, poor ignorant people, under the stale idle pretence of reforming their morals."—*Twenley's Journal in the Isle of Man*, vol. ii, p. 174.

¹ Bishop Murray appears to have had a right to do so: the words of the 8th sec. of the canons, enacted in 1291, by Bishop Mark, are, "We enact that all our diocessans, under pain of excommunication, pay tithes of every sort of *bladus*, pulse-*onions*, and fruit, whether growing in gardens or in fields."—*Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i, p. 712.

² On 13th December, 1837, a bill for the commutation of tithes, framed upon the principle of the tithe act established in England, was introduced in the House of Keys.

In 1827, Lord Goderich, then prime minister, deeming it, perhaps, for the interest of the church, that the contending parties should be separated, translated Bishop Murray to the see of Rochester, and appointed as his successor in the see of Sodor and Man, Dr. William Ward, rector of Great Hawkesley, in Sussex; "because," said his lordship, in afterwards alluding to the appointment, "he knew his zeal, his acquirements, and his determination to discharge to the utmost, the sacred duties of the episcopal office."¹

The established church of the Island has for a long time past been well supported by qualified ministers, yet, notwithstanding this, an extraordinary number of dissenters are to be found in the Island.² Soon after the reformation, the followers of William Penn gained some footing in Man; but they were ultimately banished, and their property was confiscated. Not deterred by the failure of the Quakers, John Wesley sent one of his preachers to the Island, in 1775, to teach the inhabitants the doctrine of "salvation by faith;" and, in 1777, with the same object in view, he visited the Island himself. From that time the Methodists have increased to such a surprising degree, that they can now number forty-five insular chapels.

At the accession of Bishop Ward to the see of Sodor and Man, the want of church accommodation was much felt, and is generally supposed to have been the principal cause of the great increase of dissenters. To counteract this growing evil, "the bishop, by his personal exertions in

¹ Speech of the Earl of Ripon, in the House of Lords, on 14th December, 1837.

² According to Mr. Mc. Hutchin, Clerk of the Rolls, in a statement made at the request of Lord Teignmouth, the number of methodists in the Island, in the year 1836, was 3443. They have ninety-two local gratuitous preachers, and six English travelling preachers, supplied by the members with a salary according to the number of each of their families, from £100 to £160 per annum.—*Sketches*, vol. ii, cap. xx. In aid of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, there was collected in Douglas, in July, 1838, £65, in Ramsey, £36, in Castletown, £28, and in Peel, £12 14s.—*Missionary Report*.

appealing to the benevolence, piety, and charity of his friends in England, succeeded in raising between £8,000 and £9,000, and in the Island, nearly £4,000.”¹ By means of this sum, eight new churches have been erected, some have been enlarged, and others which were in a state of dilapidation, have been substantially repaired. All this has been accomplished by the unremitting assiduity and perseverance of Bishop Ward;² yet, according to the words of a recent tourist, “he is scarcely thanked in the Island for what he has done.”³

The Bishop of Sodor and Man has always, through courtesy, been allowed a seat in the House of Lords, although, by reason of his holding his barony from a subject, he was not permitted to vote. The patronage of the bishopric being now transferred, by purchase from the Atholl family to the crown, Bishop Ward held his barony of the sovereign, and had, consequently, the same right to vote in the upper house as any of the English bishops. It

¹ Speech of the Earl of Ripon, in the House of Lords, on 14th December, 1837.

² It may, perhaps, be interesting to the Manks antiquary to learn something of the structure of a few of the most ancient of the parish churches of the Island at the close of the last century, and to the general reader to see the wide field Bishop Ward had for his exertions. *Kirk Bride*—“This church is seemingly very old and is plain in its construction, having only a few small windows on one side.” Its dimensions are 54 feet by 16. *Ballaugh*—“This church is covered with slate, as most of the other churches are, there being plenty of that material in the Island.” It is 79 feet by 19. *Kirk Christ Lezayre*—“The roof of this church is plastered inside, and it is 86 feet by 20.” *Kirk Maughold*—“This church is 72 feet by 17, an inequality of dimensions that prevails generally in the Island.” *Kirk Andreas*—“This is one of the oldest churches in the Island and is too primitive for modern comfort.” It is 55 feet in length and 18 in breadth. *Kirk Lonan*—“This church was built in 1733 under the authority of an act of Tynwald, (*Mills*, p. 214) the old church being too small by one third for the congregation, and yet its dimensions are only 54 feet by 18.” *Kirk Michael*—“There is no record to shew at what period this church was built, but it is very small to be in the immediate residence of the bishop, being only 60 feet by 16. *Kirk Onchan* is another very small church of unknown antiquity, it is only 56 feet by 15.” The average height of the side walls of these churches is about seven feet and a half. One of the gables of each church is generally surmounted by a small stone cross.—*Feltham's Tour through the Island of Mann, in the years 1797 and 1798*. These diminutive edifices have nearly all been replaced by large substantial structures, built chiefly in the Gothic style.

³ *Six Days' Tour in the Isle of Man*, in 1836, p. 169.

is supposed this privilege has not been acted on in consequence of the steps taken by government to suppress the bishopric.

The commissioners appointed by parliament, in 1835, "to consider the state of the established church in England and Wales," gave it as their opinion, "that the number of parishes in the Isle of Man were too few, and the whole population too small to justify the continuance of a bishop there." While a bill founded on this report was in progress through parliament, Lord Melbourne, in a speech delivered in the House of Lords, on 1st August, 1836, expressed himself in these terms:—"As to the government and constitution of the Isle of Man, he thought they would go on as well without the presence of the bishop as with it; and with regard to the charitable trusts, there would be always found a sufficient number of persons to manage them, whether ex-officio members or not. With respect to the revenues of the see, he proposed that it should be devoted to the augmentation of the benefices and support of the inferior clergy¹ of the Island; this he thought would be a more advantageous distribution of the property than had hitherto existed."

It was finally agreed to and established by the act 6th and 7th William IV, cap. 77, that the measures recommended by the parliamentary commissioners should take effect on the death or promotion of Bishop Ward, by uniting the "Sees of Carlisle and Sodor and Man, to be called 'the united see of Carlisle and Man.'"²

¹ From the account of the Island charities, drawn up in 1827, for the consideration of government, it appears that out of the seventeen parishes into which the Island is divided, ten of the livings are not more than £90 per annum, including fees, and only three exceed £200. Four of the livings are in the gift of the bishop, and thirteen in the gift of the crown. The sovereign is not only patron, but, also, lay proprietor of the great tithes, which amount to upwards of £800 per annum. The Earl of Ripon, in a speech in the House of Lords, to which I have already alluded, recommended that £518 of this sum should be applied in raising to £150 per annum the incomes of the poor vicars of the parishes for which the crown was patron.

² *Statute* 6th and 7th William IV, cap. 77, sec. 1, entitled, "An act for carry-

Although a considerable time elapsed between the laying of the commissioners' report before parliament and the passing of the act, not a single petition was presented from any quarter against the bill in its progress through either house of parliament. But no sooner had it received the sanction of the legislature than the subject was taken up by the clergy of Chester, Wells, Winchester, Ripon, and Norwich. At the same time also, as if stimulated by the movement in England, the Manks clergy, the practitioners at the Manks bar, and a scantling of the other inhabitants, forwarded petitions against the adoption of the measure, with subscriptions amounting to about sixteen hundred.¹

These manifestations of public feeling, as well in England as in the Isle of Man,² which had been produced chiefly through the instrumentality of Bishop Ward, were presented in the House of Lords by the Earl of Ripon, who, on the 14th December, 1837, obtained leave to bring in a bill to repeal so much of the act 6th and 7th Wilm. IV, cap. 77, as related to the see of Sodor and Man.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, as one of the ecclesias-

ing into effect the reports of the commissioners appointed to consider the state of the established church in England and Wales, with reference to ecclesiastical duties and revenues, so far as they relate to episcopal dioceses, revenues, and patronage."

¹ Referring to these petitions, one of the Manks periodicals says:—"There have been some petitions got up in England to keep up our ancient bishopric; but the question of an abolition creates no sensation here. The bishop's friends have been trying to do so, but their efforts have terminated in a miserable failure. The people see plainly the object in view is not to benefit the church, but to keep up the enormous revenue of the see in the hands of a succession of political bishops who will never reside in this diocese, for the simple reason that a residence in the metropolis—a dancing attendance anywhere save in the Isle of Man, may lead to the ultimate object of their wishes—a translation to the English bench."

² In their first report, the ecclesiastical commissioners recommended that the sees of Bristol and Landaff should be united under one bishop; but the representations made by the inhabitants of Bristol against carrying that proposition into effect, operated so strongly on the minds of the commissioners, as to induce them, in their second report, "to relinquish the plan." Those friendly to the continuance of the Bishopric of Sodor and Man were thereby induced to follow the example set by the people of Bristol.

tical commissioners, appeared, on the introduction of the bill, to be hostile to any interference with a measure which had been already settled by an act of parliament; but, on the second reading of the bill, 20th February, 1838, he stated in the house that he had received a communication from the governor and legislature of the Isle of Man, expressing a strong desire that the bishopric should be retained. One object, he said, entertained by the church commissioners, in proposing the suppression of the bishopric of Man was, the means that would be thereby afforded of making competent provision for the inferior clergy, many of whom were very poor. This object had, however, been met by a proposition of the governor and legislature to adopt such a plan of commutation of the tithes of the Island as, while it would meet the wishes of the commissioners in regard to the clergy, would leave a perfectly adequate income for the maintenance of the bishop. He therefore supported Lord Ripon's bill, as did also the Bishops of London and Exeter. Petitions were presented to the same effect by the Duke of Wellington from the chancellor and masters of the university of Oxford, and by the Earl of Brecknock from the chancellor and masters of the university of Cambridge.

Lord Melbourne expressed his regret that it should have been found necessary, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the bishopric of Man, to break up the arrangement which had received the sanction of both houses of parliament and of the king; but he hoped that a similar instance might never again arise. He consequently gave his assent to the bill, and it met with no further opposition on its progress through the House of Lords. In the House of Commons it was opposed by Mr. C. Lushington, member for Ashburton, on the grounds that a sufficient reason had not been made out for the house contravening its former resolution on that subject. But the purport

of the bill being ably supported by Lord John Russell, it was finally carried by a majority of sixty-four.

The venerable Bishop Ward did not live to see the accomplishment of this great object, which he had so much at heart. He died at his rectory of Great Hawkesley in Essex, on 26th January, 1838, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

His history is that of a man blessed with quiet but unvarying prosperity from first to last. His first step in his profession was under the celebrated Bishop Porteus, who appointed Mr. Ward reader and alternate preacher at Curgen Chapel, and soon afterwards he was appointed chaplain to the Duke of St. Alban's. About this time, Lord Grantham died, and left Bishop Porteus the guardian of his three sons. The bishop immediately appointed Mr. Ward to be their tutor. After a few years spent in the faithful discharge of this trust, he was appointed by the Countess de Grey, aunt of one of his pupils, to the rectory of Mayland, near Colchester, and at a subsequent period to the more lucrative benefice of Great Hawkesley.

Through the interest of other friends, Mr. Ward obtained the rectory of Alphamstone, in the county of Essex; and from his own friend, Bishop Fisher of Salisbury, a stall in that cathedral church. In the year 1827, the Earl of Ripon, then Viscount Goderich, one of the sons of Lord Grantham, being first lord of the treasury, recommended the Rev. William Ward, his old tutor, to his majesty, to fill the vacant see of Sodor and Man.

Bishop Ward, although far advanced in years, when placed at the head of the Manks church, discharged the duties of his diocese with zeal, activity, and benevolence.

The Earl of Ripon, in the House of Lords, 23rd February, 1838, passed a high eulogium on the virtues and liberality of Bishop Ward. According to that nobleman's

statement, the late prelate of Sodor and Man had, in the course of ten years, expended out of his limited income, upwards of £1,200 in promoting religious education, and in improving the condition of the inferior clergy in the diocese. Thus considering the duty to his flock superior to his duty to his family, he consequently died poor.*

As secretary of state for the home department, Lord John Russell notified to the insular legislature, that as soon as the tithe commutation question, which had been so long under their consideration, was settled, a successor to the late bishop would be appointed by her majesty. After much able discussion on the subject, in which nearly every member in the House of Keys is said to have taken a part, the bill was passed by the Keys; and after receiving the sanction of the council, 2nd May, 1838, was directly forwarded to the Home Secretary for its final adoption.

As the basis of this commutation, the average price of grain is to be deemed of the value of such quantities of Wheat, Barley, and Oats, as the same would have purchased in case one-third part thereof had been invested in the purchase of Wheat at seven shillings and a farthing per imperial bushel, one-third part thereof in the purchase of Barley at three shillings and eleven pence half-penny per imperial bushel, and the remaining one-third part thereof in the purchase of Oats, at two shillings and nine pence per imperial bushel, and to be regulated, increased, or diminished, from year to year, according to the average prices of Wheat, Barley, and Oats, as advertised in the *London Gazette*, by the comptroller of the corn returns for the time being, or such other person as may, from time to time, be in that behalf authorised by the Privy Council, in the month of January in every year, according to the provisions of an Act of Parliament passed in

* Appendix, Note ix, "Bishop Ward."

the sixth and seventh years of his late Majesty King William the Fourth, intituled "An Act for the Commutation of Tithes in 'England and Wales.'"¹

It is generally expected in the Island, that this measure will prove very beneficial both to the churchman and to the landholder. All the difficulties that stood so long between the interests of the pastor and his people, are thereby removed, while at the same time the bill affords a more comfortable provision for the heretofore low paid clergy. Twenty, and in some instances, thirty pounds may be added to the amount of each of the lowest class of computed stipends, as the annual value of the parsonage and glebe; and if the free occupation of a palace with nearly five hundred acres of the best land in the Island attached to it, be in like manner added to the bishop's stipulated revenue, it will be found yet² a tolerable compensation, as a late tourist says, "for the care of all the churches."

Another benefit conferred on the Island by this judicious bill, is the appropriation of the impropriate fund, in future, solely for the benefit of the parochial schools.

By the bill, forwarded to the Home-office, the tithe-rent was to be collected from the rate-payers by the moars and baronial sergeants; but the arrangement not meeting with the approbation of the law officers of the crown, it was recommended, that the collection of the tithes should be placed in the hands of the clergy themselves. The bill, thus amended, was returned to the Island, and in due form brought under the consideration of the Tynwald court. Much discussion ensued in that assembly on the 5th July, 1838, as to the alterations recommended by

¹ See *Tithe Commutation Act*, section xvi.

² The annual return of the episcopal revenues in Bishop Wilson's time, did not exceed £300—*Life of Bishop Wilson*, ap. *Bullock*, p. 160. But in the year 1836, according to a recent writer, the income of the see amounted to £3,000:—*Illustrated Guide*, p. 30. It may be remembered that Bishop Murray, in the year 1823, required £6,000 as a commutation for the tithes of the bishopric.

Lord John Russell; but they were at length agreed to, by a majority of the insular legislature. On the 23rd of the same month, the clergy presented a memorial to the Keys and Council, praying to be exonerated from the collection of the tithe-rent, that measure being calculated to bring them into collision with their parishioners. After taking this petition into consideration, the legislature agreed to allow the clergy fifty pounds per annum, to be expended in collecting the tithe-rent, in any way they might find most agreeable.

In 1839 the insular legislature passed this bill to commute the tithes of the Island for £5050, apportioned as follows :—

To the Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man	£1515	0	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Patrick.....	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of German	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Marown	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Michael	141	8	0
To the Rector of the Parish of Ballaugh.....	303	0	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Jurby.....	141	8	0
To the Rector of the Parish of Andreas	707	0	0
To the Chaplain of a Chapel of Ease in the said Parish of Andreas.....	101	0	0
To the Rector of the Parish of Bride	303	0	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Lezayre	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Maughold.....	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Lonan	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Conchan	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Braddan	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Santon	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Malew	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Arbory.....	141	8	0
To the Vicar of the Parish of Rushen	141	8	0
To the Trustees nominated in conveyance of the Improprate Tithes of Michael, made by Dr. Thomas Wilson, for the benefit of Clergymen's Widows	141	8	0

These sums are independent of the lands attached to the see, the yearly rental of which is about £500, and

the glebes belonging to the vicarages. The crown tithes were also commuted by the same act for £550.

These preliminary matters being adjusted, the Reverend James Bowstead, chaplain to the Bishop of Ely, and rector of Rettenden, in the county of Essex, was, by letters patent, passed under the great seal, "appointed to the bishopric of the *Isle of Man and Sodor*." By royal mandate, he was honoured by the senate of the university of Cambridge with the degree of doctor in divinity, and was consecrated at Lambeth Palace by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Bishops of Ely, Hereford, and Lincoln assisted at the ceremony, and he had, afterwards, an audience of the queen, in the royal closet, to do homage for his appointment to that see. Lord John Russell and the dean of Hereford, clerk of the closet in waiting, being in attendance, officiated at the ceremony there performed.

On the 22nd of August, Bishop Bowstead landed at Douglas, and was warmly greeted by the inhabitants. He entered on his official duties by preaching a charity sermon¹ there, and next day proceeded to the episcopal palace of the diocese. At Ballacrairie, eight miles distant from his future residence, he was met and escorted on his way by a mounted deputation of gentlemen; and at the village of Kirk Michael, the horses were taken from his carriage by the populace, and by them drawn thence to Bishop's Court, amidst the deafening acclamations of the assembled multitude.

The provincial mandate of the Archbishop of York, confirming the crown appointment of Dr. Bowstead, to the see of Sodor and Man, being received, it was publicly announced that his installation would take place at Castletown, agreeably to ancient custom. The clergy and

¹ This was one of the anniversary sermons preached usually in St. George's Church, in aid of the "Daily and Sunday Schools;" the collection made at the church doors on this occasion amounted to £71 5s. 10d.—*Manx Sun*, 31st August, 1838.

constituted authorities, 5th September, 1838, accordingly assembled in the Castle of Rushen, and walked in procession thence to the chapel of St. Mary. At the entrance of the church, they were met by the episcopal registrar, who read there aloud "the mandate of the spiritual overseer¹ of the province of York," and then conducted Bishop Bowstead to the episcopal throne. After the rituals of the crowning were performed by the chaplain in ordinary, his lordship read the communion service, and dismissed the congregation with an appropriate address. On the service of the day being concluded, the procession returned to the castle, where the oaths of office were administered to his lordship by the Clerk of the Rolls.² Addresses of congratulation were then presented to the bishop, on his accession, to the "cure of the Manks church," from the clergy of the diocese, and from the inhabitants of Castletown.

These friendly manifestations were kindly received and feelingly replied to by his lordship, as were similar congratulatory offerings from the masters and students of King William's College, from the inhabitants of Ramsey, and from almost every other community in the Island.

Bishop Bowstead established the Diocesan Society to raise funds to endow the newly erected chapels of ease, and he intended to increase the salaries of the parochial schoolmasters, and to appoint men better qualified for that office, that the benefits of education might be extended to all classes in the community; but to the great regret of the inhabitants, he was translated to the see of Lichfield, and left the Island on the 7th of January, 1840.

He was succeeded by Dr. Henry Pepys, brother to the then Lord Chancellor Cottenham. He was consecrated at Whitehall, on Sunday 1st March, 1840; and

¹ *Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 167.

² See the words of the oath taken by the Bishop of Man at his installation, cap. 19.

arrived at Douglas on Monday, 27th April; and was installed at St. Mary's, Castletown, on the 8th May. He was soon after appointed to the see of Worcester, and quitted the Island on the 4th May, 1841. His episcopate was but of short duration.

His successor, Thomas Vowler Short, D.D., Rector of Bloomsbury, London, and one of her majesty's chaplains, was consecrated at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall, on Sunday, 6th June, 1841, by the Archbishop of York, assisted by the Bishops of London and Ripon. He arrived at Douglas on the 15th July, 1841, and was installed at Castletown, on Monday, 25th of the same month.

The antiquated method of collecting the revenues of the insular church, which, from the time of its institution, continued to be frequently the grounds of rancorous disputes between the clergy and the laity, being happily no longer sanctioned by law; and the rights of the people being now better defined, the bishops, in future, will not have those obstacles to surmount which stood in the way of their predecessors. The good works of some of these eminent divines,* must be held in grateful remembrance by the Islanders, "so long as any sense of piety remains among them."

Having shown that the see of Sodor and Man is nearly coeval with the church itself, that its bishops maintained their jurisdiction through a great variety of changing circumstances in the government and possession of the Island, and that it is still to remain an independent bishopric, I will, in the next chapter, advert to the peculiarities of its constitution.

* Appendix, Note x, "List of Bishops."

APPENDIX.—CHAPTER XII.

NOTE I.—PAGE 336.

ANCIENT CANONS OF THE MANKS CHURCH.

These synodical statutes were enacted by Bishop Simon in A.D. 1239, by Bishop Mark in 1291, and by Bishop Russell in 1350. Sir William Dugdale, in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, from which work these constitutions are extracted, after describing the Abbey of Rushen, adds,—“Certain very ancient constitutions of the Bishop of Sodor, in the Isle of Man, passed in synod, and never before committed to print, which, although they be foreign to the direct purpose of this work, yet, for antiquity’s sake, and as a monument under that title sufficiently remarkable, I have determined in this place to bring them to light.” Dugdale copied these documents from the original MSS., then the property of John Selden, the celebrated antiquary, who died in 1654. These are now in the Seldenian collection of ancient records, in the British Museum :—

“I.—We enjoin that all chaplains bear their guard against going to taverns, or keeping taverns in their houses, in order that they may not be drunken—luxurious, litigious, but ready by word and work to afford the example of a good life and praiseworthy conversation to those under them, &c.

“II.—We order, also, that persons in holy orders are never to eat at inns, but in case of travelling or other urgent necessity, nor stand and drink beyond a single draught, nor tarry and join themselves in public drinkings or companies, nor use other levities in public places, under pain of suspension from office.

“III.—We ordain that all chaplains use close *capæ* and other part of dress suitable to their order, but we altogether prohibit them using a mantle; and we direct that all chaplains, on festivals and solemn days especially, wear close *capæ*, and also, when they come to the chapters or to the synod. But if they do otherwise, that any other prohibited garment which they wear, shall, without any redemption, be applied to the fabric of the church of Saint German.

“IV.—We enact, likewise, that all chaplains, deacons, and other ministers of the altar go to divine service discreetly and devoutly, not whispering, not wearing hoods on their heads, nor *tineæ*, nor with caps, nor with *cirecelhi* in their hands, nor spurs on their feet; with a decent tonsure and coronal, according to the degree of their rank.

“V.—We forbid all laymen or clergymen to presume to carry arms in the churches of our diocese, or to make any tumult or disturbance, especially during the celebration of mass; and if any, after the third warning, shall be found incorrigible in this offence, he shall be punished with such ecclesiastical censure as to us shall seem fit.

“VI.—We order that the altar of each parochial church shall be garnished with a book and lights, with a cup, not *wooden*, not *glass*, not *brazen*, but only of silver or gold,

or, in case of urgent necessity, of *pure tin*, and afterwards consecrated by the bishop. Let the churches and all the ornaments thereof, whether books, robes, fonts, or chrismatories, be kept clean and seemly. The place in which the sacrament is deposited to be diligently watched by the vicar of the church, who is also to take charge of the lights for the purification of the blessed Mary; respecting which lights, we will that two of wax, with decency, be supplied to each church, in the celebration of masses, and be used at the elevation of the sacrament of the altar; and also one of wax for Easter.

"VII.—We ordain that all and each female parishioner, and male also, thrice every year make an offering of an *obolus*, viz., at the feast of the Lord's nativity, at Pasch and Pentecost, or at the feast of the dedication of the church; and that each and every one having a dwelling house and certain effects, shall pay two *denarii* and an *obolus*, on Quadragesima Sunday, for the lights of the church; but if they lodge in other houses, and yet have effects to the value of six *solidi*, they shall pay two *denarii*, according to the custom of the neighbouring provinces.

"VIII.—Likewise, we enact that the archdeacon, like the apostle, in his visitation, be not in quest of his own, but look after the things of Jesus Christ; that the canon of the mass may be improved, and that priests may understand properly to pronounce the words of the canon, and the service of baptism, and teach the laity according to what form they ought to baptise in a case of necessity, at least they should know to do this in their own tongue. The archdeacon must also have in writing, all the ornaments of the churches, utensils, vestments, and books, and cause them to be presented to his view every year, that he may see what has been added by the care of the parishioners, or what in the interval, through the negligence or evil design of the vicars, have been plundered, or, through their misconduct, diminished, what by the clerks, and what by the laity.

"IX.—We enact that the bellman of the churches, when a bishop approaches the church or passes near it, shall ring the bells, which if he do not, the clerks shall be punished at the discretion of the bishop.

"X.—We order that the rights of the church be celebrated with suitable reverence, as handed down in writing by the holy fathers. Let none adventure any novel change, and let all give special heed that wine, wherewith the sacrament is celebrated, be not corrupt, nor soured to vinegar, and that it be red rather than white. Nevertheless in white wine the holy rite is administered duly, but not with vinegar, since when changed into vinegar, it has lost all its potential properties of wine. Let the water be added in so moderate a quantity that not the wine in the water, but the water in the wine may be absorbed. Let the host be of meal, round and entire, and without spot, as the lamb was without spot.

"XI.—We strictly prohibit any priest from celebrating the mass twice in one day, except at Easter and Christmas, and in the burial of the dead—that is when the body of any deceased person shall that day require to be buried in the church; and if this shall happen on Sundays or festival days, then the priest must be careful after rinsing his hands and the cup with water and wine, after the communion, not to take the ablution, but set it aside in a clean vessel till the end of the second mass, and then he shall take both ablutions, because, on account of the reverence due to the sacrament, no one ought to celebrate it unless he be fasting. If he shall have taken that ablution which is either pure water or pure wine, then he cannot be considered as fasting. Likewise, we strictly prohibit any priest from presuming to serve two mother churches; and the priest must take care that, from the beginning till the end of the mass, a waxen candle be burning.

"XII.—We forbid, under pain of excommunication, that any woman or wife

suffer their children to be placed beside them in their beds, before they have completed the third year of their age. Let chaplains beware lest through negligence any infant die without baptism; and, also, under pain of excommunication, we enjoin that no chaplain convert the tunics on christening dresses to any other uses than those of the church, or take it a second time, by changing the tunic or christening dress of one child to another child.

"XIII.—We direct that all chaplains admonish their female parishioners, and induce them after childbirth to go to their churches, with *candles* and *offerings*, at the time appointed for their purification, so that they may be purified within fifteen days, at most.

"XIV.—We enact that, four times a year, viz., on the Sundays next after the observation of the four seasons, and also, in the synod, there be excommunicated all fortune tellers, sorcerers, church incendiaries, forgers, manifest usurers, and obstructers of evidence lawfully given, laymen invading, detaining, defrauding, and carrying away possessions, or anythings whatsoever, ecclesiastical or liberties; and all those who shall have obtruded themselves upon an ecclesiastical benefice; and witnesses knowingly perjured, owing to whom there is lost by any one, his inheritance, or benefice or land; public and notorious robbers, and all thieves and pilferers, and those who protect or become surety for them when their said cause is brought to light; likewise all who, in case of matrimony, give false evidence, or make false objections maliciously, or cause them to be made, or, in a case of matrimony, suborn witnesses; and all those obstructing the ordinaries in their proceedings against the effects of deceased persons intestate, conducted according to the custom of the English church and our own, these we resolve to lay under a sentence of excommunication. Likewise, we excommunicate all conspirators against their own bishops or foreign ones, or against such prelates; and all consenting with conspirators, as well as all such there are schismatic and infamous. Likewise, by authority of this, our sacred synod, we excommunicate all those who disturb the peace of the king and the kingdom; and all those who, through hatred or for the sake of gain, charge false crimes upon others, for which, if judicially condemned, death, banishment, mutilation of members, disinheritance or confiscation of goods, or the loss of reputation would follow.

"XV.—We forbid all, and especially chaplains, to have intercourse with all persons publicly excommunicated. Of which offence should chaplains be found guilty, they shall be subjected to the severest punishment.

"XVI.—We exact that every chaplain, once in a year, receive in vessels very clean and well waxed, the holy crimi oil and oil for the sick. Let the host that is to be given to the sick, be new each Lord's day; and let it be placed in a suitable place, that is, in the pix or in a covered chest, and let it at no time be set by without the chest.

"XVII.—We enact that all chaplains be prompt in visiting the sick when called upon, lest, by their negligence, that any die without the sacrament of the church. And when they go to them clothed in their surplices, let them reverently carry the Lord's body in a (pixis) box kept for the purpose, the box being covered with a white linen cloth, or one of silk, and a little bell preceding it to the (villa) house of the church. But to places remote, the Lord's body must not be carried except by a chaplain of the church, it being covered with a close *cape*; and when they have come to the sick infirm people with it, they shall give them salutary admonition, and persuade them to true confession and penitence, and the making of their will in due form; nor shall any one receive communion without a wax candle burning. And they shall diligently advise them to leave something for the fabric of the parish

church, according to their means. For collecting and reserving which, two trust-worthy parishioners provided by rectors of parishes, shall be appointed.

“XVIII.—We direct and exact that any sick person in his last agonies, when he shall wish to make his will, shall call the chaplain of the church and the clerk, and, in their presence, with two or three good and trust-worthy persons, shall declare his will with his own mouth; and the priest himself shall carefully enquire into his substance, and if he be liable to any creditors or encumbered with debt. Which if he do not, he shall be considered as having died intestate. Which statute we wish all chaplains to publish in their churches. Likewise we enact that whoever shall affirm that he is a creditor of any deceased person, or that any one had entered into a contract with him, if he live in the same parish or so near as not to be prevented by infirmity, and yet did not while the man was alive, nor at the time of making the will, nor at the time of the sickness, move in the matter, shall not be heard after the man's death.

“XIX.—We order and proclaim that the church must have its choice out of all goods of any deceased person, along with all his clothes, and bed and bolster; but if he has not a bed and bolster, seven *denarii* must be given for a *free man*. And by a *Gilbogus* possessed of goods to the value of a mortuary, a mortuary shall be paid to the church; but if his goods do not amount to this value, then every fifth *denarius* shall be paid to the church out of his free effects, in ‘good children.’ And if it be demanded what is *Gilbogus*, it must be replied that *Gilbogus* is any one who has lived a single night, and been appointed to hold possessions, or been actually in possession—if, as has been said, he shall die, then the church shall receive its due. Also, the aforesaid *Gilbogus*, though he shall have paid a mortuary, besides this, shall satisfy the claims of the presbiter and clerk, as well as those of the church; and if he shall have paid no mortuary, he must, nevertheless, come to an agreement with them; and in case of any dead person whomsoever, there must be offerings according to his means, as well in *denarii* as in candles, for his parish church. And, under pain of excommunication, we forbid any dead person to be taken for burial to any other place, until mass has been said for him in his parish church.

“XX.—The dues to be paid to the clerk, are these: If a person pay mortuary, the clerk must have the *stockings* of that man, and *shoes*, value six *denarii*, and a hat and cap of more or less value, such as the man himself was accustomed to wear on Christmas day; likewise a belt, and a purse to the value of one *denarius*, and a small knife worth one *denarius*.

“XXI.—Whereas the discipline of souls is the art of arts, and it is a holy and wholesome office to intercede for the departed,—we first, in the deliberative council of our clergy, have thought well to order, that whensoever any rector, vicar or chaplain of our church of Mann, or any other person of good report, commended to the intercession of our prayers or to other like intercessions, and *under tie towards us*, shall from life depart, all others him surviving shall, at the place, and on the day of his burial, without pretext or excuse, collect themselves together, and grant meet honour to the body of the departed: and if they, singular and each, can celebrate masses, let them celebrate them together with the other intercessions therewith accustomed. And, from the day forth of the burial, let each of the above named, without let or delay, celebrate, or cause to be celebrated by another, thirty masses; also, on the thirty days next ensuing, let the office of the dead, with nine lectures and the usual psalms, be steadfastly offered up by each of such survivors, without interruption of days, and with a suitable devotion.” These masses were performed on the graves of the dead.—*Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 127.

NOTE II.—PAGE 344.

CHARTER OF THE BISHOPRIC.

A confirmation of the church lands and liberties, given, granted, and made by the most noble Lord Thomas, Earl of Derby, Lord Stanley, and King of the Isle of Mann and of the Islands, to Huan, Bishop of Sodor, and to his successors :—

“ Thomas, by the grace of God, King of Mann and of the Islands, Earl Derby and Lord of Stanley, wishes eternal salvation in the Lord to all the sons of our Holy Mother Church who shall read or hear these letters. We make known to your community that we, for the salvation of our own soul, and of the souls of our predecessors and of all the faithful and departed, have given and granted to our beloved in Christ, the Reverend Father and Lord in Christ, Lord Huan, by divine permission now Bishop of Sodor, as a free and perpetual provision for his *episcopal table*, all the church lands, tithes, and possessions which our predecessors, the Kings and Lords of Mann, have given, granted, and confirmed to the Church and Bishopric of Sodor, to wit, the cathedral church of St. Germain, in Holme, called Sodor or Pile, and the church of St. Patrick; as, also, the forementioned places in which the forementioned churches are situate; as, also the church of St. Braddan, and the churches of St. Patrick of Jurby, with the church of St. Crocok, with all and every the tithes, first fruits, and emoluments, revenue, liberties, commodities, and everything thereto appertaining, and a third part of all the tithes of all the churches of Mann; confirming, besides, to them the third of the whole town of Kirkby, near the church of St. Braddan, with the lands of St. Braddan, and a third of the whole town of Kirk Marown, the lands of Cutherty, of Glenfaba, of Floyseydn, of Balla, of Mary, of the staff of St. Patrick and of Helmetown, with the fisheries, customs, anchorages, and the third of the bailiwick of Knockcroke, and of Ballabrusle, of Jurby, of Balicane, of Bretby, and of Ramsey. Also, the lands of the church of the Holy Trinity in Lezayre, of St. Mary, of Ballaugh, of St. Maughold, and of St. Michael adjacent, and the whole of the land of St. Columba—called Here; as also, the liberties of every kind formerly granted to the same church, their own jurisdiction of life and limb, theft, murder, and all crimes; and that they may have the power of imprisoning and of releasing the imprisoned, and of a Cross and Gibbet on their own lands. And that both the clergy and laity who reside upon episcopal farms or tenements, plead and answer suits in the court of the lord bishop at the ecclesiastical bar; and that they be free from all services, secular exaction and demand, forfeiture and fine; and if any cause be decided betwixt our men and the men of the forementioned bishop, or of our successors, let the fellow fined for the offence, follow the decision of the court. We have, also, given and do confirm to the said bishop, all manner of sea-wreck and land accruing to the bishop and his successors through Mann, together with the *village of Kirkcriest*, near Ramsey, entirely with the clerical and lay appurtenances, without any reserve, with one moiety of the fishery in *Miresoogh*. And that the same bishop, his successors, and the clergy and farmers of the episcopal revenues, have free power to sell and dispose of their tithes, and other property of the clergy and laity dwelling on ecclesiastical lands, whenever they shall deem proper, both in and out of our land of Mann, without our gainsaying, or that of our heirs or successors; also, the mines of lead or iron which he may discover in any of his lands in Mann, so to be had, held, and pos-

seced by the aforesaid Huan and his successors, the Bishops of Mann, for ever, as freely, quietly, and honourably as any other provision that has ever been conferred and appropriated to any *episcopal table* by any kings or lords whatsoever, to continue to the end of time. In witness whereof, we have caused three presents to be sealed with our seal. Given at Latham, this twenty-eighth day of March, one thousand five hundred and five years."—*Dugdale's Monasticon*, *op. Johnstone's Jurisprudence*, Edinburgh, 1811, pp. 232, 333, 234.

Some learned writers have contended that the *Sodor*, conjoined in the title of bishop with that of Man to the present time, was identical with a small cathedral of that name in *I-calm-cill*, now called Iona; but in the charter of the bishopric, as seen above, it is plainly stated to have been in *Sodor* or *Pile*, (where, to the north of the cathedral, stand the ruins of the bishop's palace in Peel). From this, it is plain that both the cathedral church and the episcopal palace were situated in the little Isle of Sodor or Peel.

The etymology of the word *Sodor* has also given rise to many conflicting opinions. The cathedral of Iona was dedicated to our saviour in Greek Σωτηρ, (*Soter*) and hence, it was supposed, came the word *Sodor*; but in the Manks language, *Sodor* or *Sidoor* signifies soldier, and *Sidoorys*, soldiery, which seems to have been construed into *Sudereys*.—*Cregeen's Manks Dictionary*.

Peel was a stronghold from the earliest times; and so far back as A.D. 1422, no woman was permitted to enter the garrison, "without a special warrant from my Lord."—*Lex Scripta*, p. 17. The soldiers, when not employed on watch and ward, resided with their families outside the garrison; and from this circumstance the Isle or town derived the name of *Sodor*—the dwelling place of the soldiery. Buchanan, in his preface to *Knor's History of the Reformation*, folio edition, Edinburgh, 1732, says, "The town near the church in Peel Isle, was called Sodora."

This account of the derivation and locality of *Sodor* appears the more probable, from the very affinity of its situation to Man; and when it is recollected, as stated by Pinkerton (*Inquiry*, vol. ii, part vi, cap. i), that, in the middle ages, "almost every monastery had its bishop, and every bishopric its monastery," it may be seen how such importance came to be attached to the diminutive locality of *Sodor*, and how natural, from situation alone, came to be, at an early period, the union of the two bishoprics of *Sodor* and Man.—*Matthew Paris*, p. 85. Both Hector Boëtius (*Holinshead's Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i, p. 130, edit. 1805) and Buchanan seem to have been aware of these facts, and that the first part of the compound title of the Bishop of Man, could not have been derived from the name of the cathedral of Iona.—*Hist. of Scotland*, book i. According to Boëtius and Spottiswood, Amphibalus was Bishop in Man A.D. 360 (*Lib. i*, folio 3); between whom and Torkin, who held the see in 889, there were eight prelates who consecutively held this diocese; and who, according to Keith, and other ecclesiastical writers, all bore the title of *Episcopus Sodorensis*.—*Keith's Catalogue*, Edinburgh, 1824, pp. 295, 296.

All writers of early church history agree as to the arrival of St. Columba at Iona, either in A.D. 563 or A.D. 565, (*Smith's Life of St. Columba*, p. 12); and that he afterwards built a church there, and dedicated it to our saviour, from the Greek name of which, the Bishopric of *Sodor* is supposed by some to have arisen, as above mentioned; but it plainly appears this title was in existence upwards of two centuries anterior to the see of Iona, and more than seven centuries prior to the period at which the bishopric is supposed to have been first called by the Norwegians, *Sudereys*, to distinguish it from *Norderays*—the metropolitan see of the Archbishop of Drontheim.—*Usher, Camden, Wilson*.

It will also be found that the *Bishops of Sodor and Man* were, in various instances, elected by the whole clergy of Man, and afterwards consecrated by the Pope (*Keith*, pp. 303, 304), without the interference of either the clergy of Iona, or any of the Isles composing that diocese.

NOTE III.—PAGE 350.

TRANSLATION OF THE SCRIPTURES INTO THE MANKS LANGUAGE.

Seacome and Bullock have evidently been misled by Chaloner, in stating that any part of the Scriptures, or even the Common Prayer Book had been translated into the Manks language, as appears by the following extract from the Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for the year 1764, p. 115 :—

“Hatton Garden, No. 9, May 4, 1764.

“The present fund for printing the Scriptures in the Manks language amounts to £1000, in government securities, a considerable part of which is expected to be soon called for, to supply the charges of the press; and, upon a moderate computation, upwards of £1000 more than hath been received will be requisite to complete this design, especially if larger numbers be printed in future editions, with a view to extend the distribution so far as that no one person, of the *twenty thousand natives* of the Isle of Man, may be destitute of a Bible and Common Prayer Book in his native tongue, in which they never appeared before.” “To accomplish this undertaking, under the auspicious superintendence of Dr. Mark Hildesley, Bishop of Man.” “The Common Prayers of the Church of England are already put into the hands of able clergymen in the said Island, well skilled in the Manks language, to be prepared for the press.”—*Isle of Man Charities*, drawn up for government, printed 1831, pp. 52, 53. It would follow, from these statements, that Chaloner has paid his friend Phillips a compliment that appears now very doubtful.

It also appears, by the same report, that the society “printed in the Manks language, and dispersed gratis in the Island, 2000 Catechisms, 1200 Christian Monitors, and 1000 copies of the Acts of the Apostles;” and by the report of 1781, page 12, in addition to these, “they distributed gratis, in the Manks language, 1000 copies of the New Testament in octavo, 2000 copies of Lewis’s Exposition, 1550 copies of the Book of Common Prayer, in octavo, and 1000 copies in duodecimo.

The Book of Common Prayer was first printed in Manks, at London, in the year 1765, by Oliver. The Epistles and Revelations of St. John were printed in Manks, at Ramsey, by Sheppard of Whitehaven. The Prayer for the fishery and Lewis’s Catechism were also printed in Manks, at Ramsey, in 1768. The Bible was first printed in 1 vol. 4to, and in 3 vols. 8vo., between the years 1772 and 1776, at Whitehaven, by Ware. In the good work of translating the scriptures into the Manks language, the insular clergy were particularly active; “each,” says the biographer of Bishop Hildesley, “performed his apportioned part with zeal and judgment.”—*Ap. Ward’s Ancient Records*, London, 1837, p. 57.

The following is a list of the Clergymen who translated the Scriptures, &c., into the Manks language, and the manner in which they were apportioned:—

GENESIS—Rev. Wm. Mylrea, Archdeacon, and Rev. Robt. Radcliffe, Vicar-General.

EXODUS—Rev. Henry Corlett, Vicar of Kirk German.

LEVITICUS—Rev. Nicholas Christian, Vicar of Rushen.

NUMBERS—Rev. William Crebbin, Vicar of Jurby.

DEUTERONOMY—Rev. John Moore, Vicar of Arbory.

JOSHUA—Rev. James Wilks, Vicar of Kirk Michael.

JUDGES & RUTH—Rev. Robert Quayle, Curate of Kirk Braddan.

1 SAMUEL—Rev. Samuel Gell, Vicar of Kirk Lonan.

2 SAMUEL—Rev. Joseph Cosnahan, Vicar of Kirk Braddan.

1 KINGS—Rev. Thomas Quayle, Vicar of Kirk Onchan.

2 KINGS—Rev. John Christian, Vicar of Kirk Marown.

1 CHRONICLES—Rev. Daniel Gelling, Vicar of Kirk Malew.

2 CHRONICLES—Rev. John Gell, Vicar of Lesayre.

EZRA & NEHEMIAH—Rev. Thomas Cubbon, Vicar of Kirk Santon.

ESTHER—Rev. John Crellin, Chaplain of Ramsey.

JOB—Rev. Thomas Corlett, Curate of Kirk Bride.

PSALMS { Rev. John Gell, Vicar of Lesaye, Rev. Philip Moore, Rector of Kirk Bride
and Chaplain of Douglas, and the Rev. Mr. Teare.

PROVERBS—Rev. Thomas William J. Woods, Vicar of Kirk Maughold.

ECCLESIASTES—Rev. Charles Crebbin, Curate of Douglas.

SONG OF SOLOMON—Rev. William Clucas, Curate of Kirk Marown.

MINOR PROPHETS—Rev. W. Fitzsimmons, Minister of Episcopal Chapel, Edinburgh

GOSPELS & ACTS { Uncertain by whom; ¹ but under the direction of Bishop Wilson,
and Dr. William Walker, his Vicar-General.

EPISTLES—Rev. James Wilks, Vicar of Kirk Michael.

THE LITURGY { Rev. Matthias Curphey, Vicar-General, Rector of Ballaugh, and
the Rev. Robert Radcliffe, V. G. Vicar of Kirk Patrick.

LEWIS'S CATECHISM, Rev. H. Corlett.—CHRISTIAN MONITOR, Rev. Paul Crebbin.

The Rev. Philip Moore and the Rev. J. Kelly revised and corrected the version of the Old Testament. Rev. James Wilks and Rev. Matthias Curphey, the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. Rev. Matthias Curphey, the Epistles. Rev. James Wilks, the Liturgy. Mr. afterwards Rev. Dr. Kelly, superintended the impression of the Old Testament; besides the later editions of the New Testament, Prayer Book, and Treatise on the Sacrament. Rev. Thomas Corlett, the Epistles, second edition of the Liturgy, and the Christian Monitor.—*Butler's Memoirs of Bishop Hildesley*, London, edition 1799, pp. 252–256.

¹ The Rev. Thos. Cubbon, Vicar of Kirk Maughold, in a letter to the Rev. Weeden Butler, author of the *Memoirs of Bishop Hildesley*, dated March 17, 1798, says—"I cannot find in what proportion the rest of the Old and New Testament was divided amongst the gentlemen; but I believe, and am pretty confident, they did translate the whole. The Rev. Philip Moore and Matthias Curphey, assisted occasionally by the Rev. James Wilks, revised the Pentateuch at Bishop's Court: the remaining part of the Old Testament was revised by the Rev. P. Moore and the Rev. John Kelly only, and by them prepared for the press at Douglas." Unable to trace out from the papers of Mr. Wilks, his father-in-law, any account, when, or by whom, the Gospels were originally translated into Manks, Mr. Cubbon thought the best way was to apply to the Rev. William Crebbin, Vicar of Jurby, and translator of the book of Numbers, who is in his 82d year, and who lived with Bishop Wilson twelve months after his being ordained by him. This gentleman informed Mr. Cubbon, that during his residence with the bishop, the four Gospels, the Acts, and part of the Common Prayer had been translated, as he was assured and understood, by Dr. William Walker, then Vicar-General of the Diocese. He is certain, that the copies he saw were in the hand-writing of Dr. Walker; for Bishop Wilson used to give Mr. Crebbin the perusal of them, in order the better to qualify him for translating.

In the course of printing the Manks Bible, a fatal accident had nearly befallen a portion of the translation, which threatened greatly to retard the good work, and is thus related by the Rev. Dr. Kelly;¹—"I began to revise, correct, and transcribe, the Gaelic translation of the Bible on the 1st of June, 1768. The Pentateuch was soon after nearly ready for the press; and we arrived at Whitehaven, where the work was printed, on the 13th of April, 1770. On our next return from the Island to Whitehaven, the 19th of March, 1771, charged with another portion, from Deuteronomy to Job inclusive, we were shipwrecked in a storm. With no small difficulty and danger the manuscript was preserved, by holding it above the water for the space of five hours; and this was almost the only article saved." Bishop Hildesley and the Rev. Philip Moore, whenever the subject afterwards came into conversation, were jocularly pleased to compare the corrector to Cæsar; who, during the sea-fight at Alexandria, is said to have saved his Commentaries by holding them in one hand and swimming with the other.—*Memoirs of Bishop Hildesley*, pp. 230, 231.

Major Vallancey, author of an *Irish Grammar*, speaks highly of the Manks translation of the Scriptures. He observes, in one or two instances, "The beautiful expression of the Manks, superior to the Irish translation, is visible to every Celtic Scholar." He further remarks, in a letter to the Rev. Philip Moore, dated Dublin, 1780,—“The few leisure moments I could command from public business, I have dedicated to my favourite pursuit, in the study of Celtic dialects and antiquities. In my career, I have perused the Manks Bible and Testament, with great pleasure and much instruction, I admire the simplicity and force of the language, and the beauty of the version, where many vulgarisms have crept into the Irish translation; such as, your *cur mian air*, for our *feuch*, ‘behold;’ and many others.”—*Memoirs of Bishop Hildesley*, pp. 233, 670.

¹ Dr. Kelly, a native of the Isle of Man, was the author of a Manks Dictionary and Grammar. The manuscript of the Dictionary was unfortunately destroyed when in the course of being printed, owing to the printing office taking fire, but was subsequently published; the Grammar likewise issued from the press, but both these works are now extremely scarce.

NOTE IV.—PAGE 353.

ROYAL BOUNTY.

An Extract from the Letters Patent of King Charles the second, of an Annuity, or yearly Sum of one hundred Pounds, towards the Maintenance of such poor Ministers in the Isle of Man as shall stand most in need thereof.

“Charles the Second, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c.,—To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting,—Know ye that we, for diverse good causes and considerations us thereunto moving, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, Have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs, and successors, given and granted unto our Rt. trusty and Rt. well-beloved cousin William, Earle of Derby, and our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Cholmondeley, of the Vale Royal, in our county of Chester, Esq., and William Bankes, of Winstanley, in our county of Lancr., Esquire, an annuity or yearly sum of one hundred pounds of lawful money of England, to be

issuing and payable out of all that our revenue of excise of beer, ale, and other excisable liquors which is settled upon us, our heirs, and successors, by the laws and statutes of this our realme, arising within all and every the cities, counties, and places of this our Kingdom of England, Dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, and every or any of them, or by the rents reserved, or to be reserved upon any demise of farm thereof, made or to be made; to have and to hold, and yearly to receive, perceive, and enjoy the said annuity or yearly sume of one hundred pounds, unto the said William Earle of Derby, Thomas Cholmondeley, and William Bankes, their heirs or ass., from the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, which was in the year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred seventy and three, at the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Michael the Archangel, by even and equal portions, by the hands of the farmers, collectors, receivers, and commissioners of our said Revenue of Excise arising out of the cities, places, and counties aforesaid, and every of them, for the time being, before the said rents or revenues be paid unto the Ecchequer, by levying tallies or pro., or assignment from time to time in said Ecchequer, for discharge of the persons paying the same or any pt. thereof; the said annuity or sume of one hundred pounds, and the arrears thereof to be, by the said Earle, Thomas Cholmondeley, and William Bankes, their heirs, and ass., from time to time employed and disposed towards the maintenance of such poor ministers in the Isle of Man, as shall be found to stand most in need thereof. And we do hereby, for us, our heirs, and successors, authorise, require, and command the Ld. High Treasurer, Comissers. of the Treasury, Chancellor, Under Treasurer, Chamberlains, and Barons of the Ecchequer, of us, our heirs and successors, and all and every the officers and ministers of our said Ecchequer, and of the receipt thereof, now and for the time being, to whom it shall in anywise appertain to give warrant, and directions from time to time, as well, for the payment of the said annuity herein before-mentioned, from the time and in the manner aforesaid, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, &c., &c.

"In witness whereof, we have caused these, our Letters, to be made patent. Witness ourself, at Westminster, the nineteenth day of Aprille, in the seven and twentieth year of our reign.

By writt of Privy seal, **PRIGORR."**

"Charles R., Right trusty, right well-beloved Cousin, we greet you well.

"Whereas, upon former and late representations made unto us by the Right Rev. Father in God, Isaac Barrow, Bishop of St. Asaph, and late Bishop of the Isle of Man, of the mean provision of the clergy in that Isle, and the ill effects which necessarily attend upon the same, both in relation to the qualifications of the ministry there, and instructing that people, and educating of their youth, we were pleased to grant one hundred pounds per ann., as of our princely bounty, to be annually paid to them, which, by our Letters patent of the 19th April, in the seven-and-twentyeth yeare of our Reigne, we have ordered to be paid out of the Revenue of Eccise; and, because the same is in perpetuity, and so could not be settled in the present Bishop of Mann and his successors, upon advice with our learned Council in the Law, we thought fit to appoint you, our Rt. trusty, and Rt. well-beloved Cousin Will., Earle of Derby, and you, our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Cholmondeley and Will. Bankes, Esquires, and your heirs and ass., to be trustees to receive and dispose this, our Royal Charity. And, reflecting upon what was done formerly in disposing thereof, we are willing, by your ease and quiet rest, this, our bounty, be disposed as we herein allot and apporportion; and, accordingly, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby require you, and every of you, and all future trustees for the same, that you and they, and every of you, from time to time, allot and pay to six petty schools in the most convenient places in the said Island, viz., to a petty school in Castletown, to a petty school in

Douglas, to a petty school in Ramsey, to a petty school in Kk. Andreas, to a petty school in Kk. Bride, and to a petty school in Ballaugh, three pounds annually to each school, amounting in all to eighteen pounds per ann. And we finding, of the seventeen Parish Churches or Cures in our Island, that there are but three that are of any considerable value, and, of the fourteen remaining, but three worth seventeen pounds per annum; and, to the end, that the other eleven Parishes or Cures, which are in value less, may be also made seventeen pounds per annum or thereabouts; We do, therefore, direct and appoint that there be allowed and paid annually to the respective incumbent for the time being of the several churches hereinafter mentioned, the several yearly sums following: viz., to the incumbent of Kk. German, eight pounds per ann.; of Kk. Jurby, eleven pounds per ann.; of Kk. Christ Laxayre, thirteen pounds per ann.; of Kk. Maughold, one pound per ann.; of Kk. Lonnan, five pounds per ann.; of Kk. Conchan, nine pounds per ann.; of Kk. Braddan, nine pounds per ann.; of Kk. Marown, seven pounds per ann.; of Kk. Santon, nine pounds per ann.; of Kk. Arbory, one pound per ann.; of Kk. Christ Rushen, nine pounds per ann.; all which amounts to eighty-two pounds per ann. (common charges to be deducted in common), which makes the whole one hundred pounds per ann. And our farther will and pleasure is that these, our letters, be registered in our said Island, that our directions herein may be better known and observed; and for so doing this shall be your warrant; and we bid you heartily farewell.

"Given at our Court, at Whitehall, the 15th day of February, 1675, in the 28th year of our Reign. By his Majesty's command, J. WILLIAMSON."

NOTE V.—PAGE 355.

ACCOUNT OF THE MANKS CLERGY.

If the clergy of Man were sunk in ignorance and vice, in Bishop Wilson's time, they seem to have improved slowly.

Townley, who visited the Island nearly a century after the appointment of Bishop Wilson, relates the following singular story:—

"Listening to the public crier under my window this afternoon, I heard it announced (by sound of bell) that the Vicar-General Moore would be here to-morrow, on some mischief, some spiritual prosecution or persecution, I fear; unless, in imitation of his brother Vicar-General, Mr. Christian, he be bringing a cast-away horse to be raffled for. About three weeks ago, the last-named gentleman sent one to be disposed of in that gambling way, at the rate of fifteen guineas. In order to induce gentlemen to become adventurers in the clerical lottery, a friend to the church offered to give ten guineas for him to the lucky person if wishing to part with his valuable prize; so we will suppose there was only a modest craving of five guineas, from the laity, for a poor parson.

"The Bishop's son proved fortune's favourite in that lottery, so the horse was sent into better quarters at Bishop's Court; but not proving suitable for a carriage horse, *Blinker* was sent back to Douglas, to be disposed of in the same manner, and upon the very same conditions. Mr. Cosnahan *then* proved the fortunate thrower. I have since heard that gentleman say the horse was not a suitable one for his use, therefore he had thoughts of pushing him off in the same way. What a pretty convenient system of gambling has been introduced into Douglas, under church authority!!"

"The following very curious and most extraordinary presentments which have also fortunately fallen into my hands, will, I trust, justify the fears above alluded to, and clear me of forming any *incandid* apprehensions with respect to one of the first dignitaries of the Manks church. Let the presentments speak for themselves :

"St. Ann's presentments:—8th Nov., 1789, Charles Crebbin, vicar, upon the information of William M'Gloriory, one of the chapter quest, the church-wardens present John M'Borie, for cursing one of his own cattle in these words, 'God damn you.' Upon the questman's information, they present Thos. Harman, for swearing by his conscience and making use of the word 'Devil,' in his common talk. Upon the information of Thomas Quivite, one of the chapter quest, they present Thomas Caine, for not attending divine service on the Sabbath day, and for cursing Elizabeth Callister, in these words, 'plague on thee.' Upon the information of the said questman, they present Elizabeth Callister, for cursing Thomas Caine in the same words as he-cursed her, viz., 'plague on thee.' Upon the information of the said questman, they present Elizabeth Hinley, wife of W. Hinley, jun., for swearing *by her soul*. On the same, they present Thomas Faggart, for swearing *by his conscience*, and Philip Hinley for swearing *by his soul*. Upon the information of John Farger, one of the chapter quest, they present Margaret Creer, for not attending divine service on the Lord's day.

"At a chapter court, held at Castletown, on the 12th November, 1789, the said John M'Borie, Thomas Harman, Thomas Caine, Elizabeth Callister, Elizabeth Hinley, Thomas Faggart, Philip Hinley, and Margaret Creer, having not appeared in court, according to summons, we fine 2s. 6d. each, for their contempt; and they are to be admonished by their pastor, for their said offences.

JOHN MOORE.

EVAN CHRISTIAN.

Examined by J. CRELLIN, Epis. Reg.

To the Vicar of St. Ann's, these to publish *plend ecclesiæ*."

—*Townley's Journal in the Isle of Man*, Whitehaven, 1791, vol. ii, p. 46.

NOTE VI.—PAGE 356.

DISCIPLINE OF THE MANKS CHURCH, FORMERLY.

"The discipline of the church being perpetually dinned in the ears of the laity, and the indispensable obligation of submitting to it, the abject creatures are drove to prison like sheep to a fold, and from thence to public penance as quietly as those beasts are to the slaughter; deterred on the one hand from murmuring by the threatenings of severer punishments, and persuaded on the other, that patient submission to the inflictors is the supremest merit in the eyes of heaven. These doctrines the spiritual pastors thunder out as the pope does his bulls, with an anathema tacked to them, and enforced by a strong argument called *Kirk Jarmyns*, on all who are disobedient or unbelieving; for proof of which, I appeal to an English gentleman, who, not long since, was sentenced to that horrid prison which is under the bishop's chapel in Peel Castle, by a spiritual court, for barely seeming to suppose that one of

the brotherhood was not overstocked with learning. A summons was served on the gentleman before the sentence was registered (nor indeed is it yet), and he had certainly been sent to prison and ordered to do penance, but that he declared he appealed to the metropolitan, or challenged his antagonist to disprove his assertion before the best judges of learning his country could produce. Upon this, the minister, by the advice of his brethren, conscious of the weakness of his cause, dropt the prosecution; and has ever since sat down under the character of an illiterate bully.

"How little the methods taken by this court to prevent fornication have succeeded, may be known by the great number of offenders, which are every Sunday doing penance in their churches; and, in my opinion, draw on a more pernicious evil than that which they design to avoid. If the least familiarity is observed between persons of a different sex, they are immediately summoned to the *communion table*, and there obliged to swear themselves innocent, or endure the shame and punishment ordained for the crime of fornication. This they call *purgings*; but it is so far from being worthy of that name, that many, to avoid public disgrace, add the sin of perjury to the other, and take the most solemn oath that can be invented to a falsehood. Innumerable are the instances I could give of this truth; but, to avoid being tedious, I shall repeat one only, but that being of so dreadful a nature, as may very well serve to convince my reader, that too much severity, as well as too much lenity, is of a dangerous consequence:

"A widow, of Douglas, being of a light behaviour, was frequently suspected to be guilty of fornication, and accordingly was summoned to the communion table, and took the oath of purgation, (how truly the sequel will prove). As she was one evening going home, she was accosted by a stranger, I think he was of Wales, the master of a vessel; what discourse passed between them is unknown, nor is it of much consequence, farther than they agreed to go together to her lodgings, where, having made him very drunk, she rifled his pocket of ten guineas, and then made a pretence to get him down stairs; but he no sooner came into the air than it deprived him of all the little sense the liquor had left him, and being unable to reel any farther, lay down at the door, and fell into a profound sleep. When waked, he missed the money, and remembering the encounter he had with the woman, related the story to his landlady, who persuaded him to make his complaint, and procure leave to search the lodgings of this woman. The advice was followed; and the officers being very diligent in their scrutiny, found in her bosom one guinea, under a heap of ashes a second, and a good part of the change of another. As she was extremely poor, and had nothing to subsist on but what she got by her daily labour from house to house, it was easy to believe this was none of her own money, they therefore doubted not but that they should find the remainder of what the captain had lost, which indeed they did, and with it a much more shocking discovery. In turning up a bed, there lay under it a parcel of small bones, which seemed to be human; they sent immediately for two doctors, the one named Jenkinson, the other Ball, who, on joining them together, made the perfect anatomies of three children. The back-bone of one of them had been cleft through, as it seemed, with a hatchet. Every one was struck with the utmost horror at this sight, except the inhuman mother and murderess, who impudently owned they were all her own children, which she had been delivered of in private to avoid punishment; but pretended, in her defence, they were still-born. She was then asked why she did not bury them, to which she answered, that was not the business of anybody, they were her own, and being dead, she might dispose of them as she pleased. Perhaps, added she, I had a mind to keep them by me, for the sake of those that begot them.

"She was, however, carried to prison under the double indictment of theft and

murder, and being unable to allege anything in her justification, was condemned to death, and accordingly executed."

The narrator continues, "It was remarkable that this wretch, when under sentence, being asked why she had not buried the children, since she might easily have had an opportunity, told the person who made this demand, that designing to throw them into the river, she took up the bones in her apron one night, but as she was going, was met by a tall black gentleman, who bade her go back; adding she was safe while she kept them at home, but that if she attempted to conceal them, either in earth or water, she would certainly be discovered. Whether this miserable creature saw any such apparition or not, or whether it was the will of God that she should imagine she saw and heard what in effect was nothing, I will not pretend to determine; but it is plain that Divine Justice, who seldom suffers murder to go unpunished, even on earth, was very visible in compelling this woman to take the only means by which she could be detected."—*Waldron's Description of the Isle of Man*, London, edition 1781, folios 117—121.

NOTE VII.—PAGE 360.

STIPEND OF THE CLERGY.

"On the death of James, Earl of Derby, in the year 1735, James, Duke of Atholl, took possession of the lordship of Man and of the rectories and tithes comprised in the said indenture of the 1st November, 1666, claiming the same as heir-at-law of James, Lord Stanley. Whereupon Thomas Wilson, Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man, and John Kippax, Archdeacon, in the month of November, 1742, exhibited their bill in the High Court of Chancery against Edward, then Earl of Derby, James, Duke of Atholl, and Isaac Clopton, the personal representative of Bishop Barrow, praying, on behalf of the clergy and schoolmasters, that they might be decreed to have the benefit of the said collateral security. And the said Edward, Earl of Derby, filed his cross-bill to establish his title to the said Isle, rectors, and tithes: which causes were heard before Lord Chancellor Hardwick on the 12th, 13th, and 15th days of July, 1751, who dismissed the cross-bill, so far as it sought to impeach the Duke of Atholl's title to the Isle of Man and to establish the lease for ten thousand years, made on the 1st November, 1666. And as for the relief, sought for by Lord Derby's bill, touching the estate and lands in Lancashire, comprised in the collateral security, and as to the demand made by the clergy against the said collateral security in the original bill, it was referred to a master to enquire, when the clergy were evicted of the tithes in question by the Duke of Atholl, and from what time they ceased to receive the rents and profits thereof. And the Master was to take an account of the tithes which had accrued since the eviction of the clergy; and also to take an account of the rents and profits of the estate in Lancashire comprised in the collateral security; and to compute the annual value of the rectories and tithes for the time to come; and so much as the Master should compute the value thereof, should be paid by Lord Derby, for the time to come, to the Bishop and Archdeacon yearly, upon the trusts in the said demise, with liberty to apply to the court to enforce payment thereof.

"In pursuance of the said decree, Master Eld made his report, dated 7th July, 1757. And by a subsequent order made in the said causes (11th May, 1758) it was ordered, that upon the Earl of Derby's consenting to pay to Hugh Hammeraley, gent., by the consent of the Bishop and Archdeacon, to be disposed of and paid by them according to the directions of the said decretal order, the sum of £1,182 11s. sterling, the clear amount settled by the said Master's report, of the damnification sustained by the clergy down to Easter, 1751; (after deducting the sum of £1442 15s. 9½d., before paid by the said Earl of Derby, pursuant to an order made the 2nd August, 1750), and also the sum of £1,087 1s. 10½d. stg., the amount of the clear yearly value of the said rectories and tithes for five years from Easter 1751 to Easter 1756, at the rate of £217 8s. 4½d. a year; and also the farther sum of £430 15s. 9d. stg., being the amount of the clear yearly value of the said rectories and tithes for the two succeeding years, from Easter 1756 to Easter 1758, at the yearly rate of £219 7s. 10½d.; and upon the said Earl of Derby's undertaking to pay to the Bishop and Archdeacon of the said Isle the yearly sum of £219 7s. 10½d. stg. on every Easter Monday, at the Town-hall in Liverpool, the said Earl of Derby shall be continued in the possession of the said manor and farm, called Bispham and Methop, subject to the further order of the Court."—*Isle of Man Charities*, printed 1831, pp. 12, 13.

NOTE VIII.—PAGE 361.

PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES.

"And whereas several well-disposed persons have given a number of useful and practical books to the several parishes of this Isle. In order to preserve the same from embezzlement, and that all future benefactors may be satisfied that their pious intent shall not be frustrated, Be it further enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that every rector, vicar, or curate, or their executors or administrators shall be accountable for such books as are already remaining, or shall hereafter be given, to the full value of the same; and every rector, vicar, or curate, shall, immediately after his induction or lycence, make a new catalogue of all the books belonging to their respective churches, and shall deliver the same to the episcopal register, to the end that the said books may be accounted for and made good, according to the purport of this act."—*Act of Tynwald*, A.D. 1734, *Lex Scripta*, pp. 258, 259. The following memoranda from the parochial register, may serve to show what many of the parochial libraries are at present:—"The Rev. Hugh Stowell entered on the vicarage of Kirk Lonan, April 19, 1802, and found the parochial library in a most ruinous and tattered state. The only entire books were, *Law's Christian Perfection*, *A Brief Exposition of the Church Catechism*, part of *Sherlock on Providence*, part of *Pearson on the Creed*, with several leaves and fragments of old books.

"N.B.—Recovered three volumes of *Bishop Wilson's Annotations on the Bible*."

"The Rev. D. Harrison, instituted to the said vicarage at Easter, 1817, found only the following books belonging to the parochial library, viz., *Law's Christian Perfection*, in bad order, and *Bishop Wilson's Bible*, greatly abused. D. H."

"The Rev. Joseph Qualtrough was instituted to the vicarage of Lonan, at Easter, 1824, and found no trace of a parochial library, except *Bishop Wilson's Bible*, and even that required a new binding."—*Isle of Man Charities*, pp. 186, 137.

NOTE IX.—Page 374.

BISHOP WARD.

This prelate being more particular than some of his predecessors, in the collection of tithes, and more frequent in his application and exactions for the erection of churches, was, in consequence, not much beloved by many of the Manks people—few of whom were inclined to believe that he really possessed the unbounded liberality, ascribed to him by the Earl of Ripon. They say he might well be liberal in support of the church, having received a large sum for that purpose, under the following singular circumstances:—

Mr. George Davenport, of Lime Street, London, a gentleman of great wealth, imagining, as may be supposed in a fit of lunacy, that his Satanic majesty was about to take sole possession of Great Britain, and that the Isle of Man was the only spot in the universe not subject to the dominion of the arch fiend; under the influence of this hallucination, he hurried away with his family and suite, to the place of his fancied security, where he soon became intimately acquainted with Bishop Ward, to whom he conveyed £8,000 of his property for the use of the insular church, of which he wished to be ordained a minister, that being, in his opinion, the only protection to be obtained on earth, against the machinations of the great enemy of mankind.

It became, at length, necessary to place Mr. Davenport under the charge of a keeper, and, for the sake of his family, to examine into the state of his affairs. In February, 1838, under a commission of lunacy, an investigation took place in London, which occupied twelve days. Enquiry was made into the state of some of his previous transactions, particularly into the transfer of stock made to Bishop Ward.—After a patient investigation into all the circumstances connected with that transaction, the jury returned a verdict to the effect, that Mr. Davenport was then of unsound mind. This opinion was strengthened by his having, in the course of a few months, in addition to that sum, given away £15,700, for religious purposes.

The illiberal charge made against Bishop Ward by some of the Manks people was quite unfounded, as he did not become acquainted with Mr. Davenport, till September, 1836; nor did he wish to keep the circumstance of his having received the donation from Mr. Davenport, secret, or to apply it to any other purpose than that intended by the donor. In the House of Lords, on 14th December, 1837, the Earl of Ripon thus adverts to the subject:—"There are resources at the bishop's command which he would be ready to apply, for the benefit of the church, if the bishopric be spared. A considerable sum, amounting to several thousand pounds, has been placed by a benevolent individual at the bishop's disposal, for purposes of this kind. The bishop is not bound to apply any part of this money to Mann; it is entirely in his discretion to apply it either there or elsewhere; but his wish would be to give to the Isle of Man, in whose welfare he feels so deep an interest, the benefit of this munificent donation, together with any additions which his friends in England, may be disposed to make to it."

In the examination, the part which the executors of Bishop Ward took to establish the donation of £8,000, is said to have cost them £1,200!! Among the papers of Mr. Davenport, it is also said, that a letter or copy of one, was found addressed to the bishop, dated six days after the conveyance, representing that Mr. Davenport's family were averse, and objected to such a large amount of property being made away with. Whether the letter was actually sent, is not stated.

LIST OF THE BISHOPS OF SODOR AND MAN, FROM THE
FOUNDATION OF THE SEE TO THE PRESENT TIME.

	YEAR.		YEAR.
Amphibalus, (doubtful)	360	John Duncan	1374
Saint Patrick	444	Robert Waldby	1381
Saint German	447	John Sprotton	1396
Conindicus	—	Richard Puller	1429
Romulus	—	John Grene	1452
Saint Maughold	498	Thomas Burton	1458
Saint Conan	648	Richard	1483
Saint Contentus	—	Huan Husketh	1487
Saint Baldus	—	John	1532
Saint Malchus	—	Thomas Stanley	1542
Torkins	889	Robert Farrier	1555
Roolwer	—	Henry Mann	1556
William	—	Thomas Stanley, (restored)	1556
Anmmed Mc. Olay	1093	John Salisbury	1570
Saint Brandan	1098	John Merrick	1577
Wimund	1113	George Lloyd	1600
John,	(about) 1130	William Foster ..	1605
Heldebert,	(about) 1151	John Phillips	1635
Garnaliel	(about) 1180	Richard Parr	1637
Reginald	—	Samuel Rutter	1661
Christian Archadiensis	—	Isaac Barrow	1663
Michael	1203	Henry Bridgeman	1671
Nicholas	1203	John Lake	1682
Reginald	1217	Baptist Levinse	1684
John	1226	Thomas Wilson	1697
Simon	1226	Mark Hildesley	1755
Laurence	1249	Doctor Richmond	1773
Stephen	1253	George Mason	1780
Richard	1257	Claudius Cregan	1784
Mark	1275	George Murray ..	1814
Allan	1305	William Ward	1827
Gilbert Mc. Clellan	1321	James Bowstead	1838
Bernard de Linton	1324	Henry Pepys	1840
Thomas	1334	Thomas Vowler Short	1841
William Russel	1348		

It is thus shown that Sodor and "Man never lost the regular succession of its Bishops, *being the only diocese* in the British church of which that can be said."—*Ward's Ancient Records*, p. 89.

END OF VOL. I.

I N D E X.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

A

- Acts, list of, relating to the sale of the Island, 256.
 Act of Settlement, 229.
 Aidon conquers the Isle of Man, 45.
 Alexander II, letter of, to the Bishop of Man, 125; succeeded by his son, 125.
 Alexander III, family of, 143; his death, 144.
 Allan, tyranny and death of, 141.
 Alfrica, daughter of Olave the Black, claims the sovereignty of Man, 144.
 Antiquities, Roman, 55.
 Anarawd succeeds his father, Rodric Maur, in the sovereignty of Man, 48; dies, 49.
 Armorial bearing of the Island, 67.
 Atholl, John Duke of, succeeds to the Lordship of the Isle of Man, 238; he visits the Island, 238; his enactments, 238; disposes of the Island to the British government, 243; exertions to obtain further remuneration in lieu of these rights, 245; commissioners appointed by parliament to inquire into the validity of these claims, 247; the duke obtains a further grant, 249; he accepts the office of captain-general of the Island, 250; and becomes very unpopular, 253; his measures strongly opposed by the Manks people, 254; finally disposes of his remaining interest in the Island, 255.
 Ayre, Point of, current of tide there, 4.

B

- Ballad, an historical, 50.
 Barrule, Mountain of, 2.
 Barrow, Dr. Isaac, 352.
 Battles between Rhun and Aidon, 45; Barred O'Kivan and the Danish pirates, 48; Norwegian pirates and Goddard king of Man, 67; Fingall defeated by Goddard Crovan, 77; the Isle plundered by Magnus Barefoot, 80; the conflict of Gantivart, 84; Goddard, king of Man, engaged at the storming of Dublin, 97; Somerled victorious on the coast of Man, 99; Godred defeated by Milo Cogan, 106; Eac Marcat, on raising the standard of rebellion, is slain, 107; Reginald defeated at Rathcastle, 110; Angus, the son of Somerled, slain at the head of a legion of Kitterans, 111; the Island plundered by the Lord of Galloway, and Reginald slain, 117; the fray of the Tynwald Hill, 124; the Manks and Danes defeated at Largs, 131; Death of Ivar, 141; battle of Barrule, 148; the inhabitants oppose the Irish under Sir Richard de Mandeville, 148; the people rise against the king's lieutenant with intent to kill him, 162.
 Balkason, Paul, puts out the eyes of Olave, 115; joins the armament of Haco, 119; murdered by Godred Don, 121.
 Baliol, seisin made of the Isle of Man

- to him, 144 ; summoned to appear before the king of England, 144 ; did homage for the Island, 149.
- Beck, Anthony, Bishop of Durham, obtains a grant of the Island, 145.
- Beltane, singular observance at, 315, 325.
- Birds of the Island, 23, 26.
- Bishops, list of, 396 ; succession of, 322, 229 ; Amphibalus suffered martyrdom, 320 ; St. Patrick converts the Manks, 321 ; St. Germain and the pelagian heresy, 321 ; Maughold elected bishop of Man, 325 ; death of bishop Conan, 326 ; Wilmund consecrated by the archbishop of York, 332 ; his piratical excursion, 332 ; Laurence consecrated by the archbishop of Drontheim, 337 ; Mark banished, 338 ; smoke-penny tax imposed, 339 ; William Russell consecrated at Avignon by the pope, 341 ; the patronage of the bishopric granted to Sir John Stanley, 342 ; Huan Husketh confirmed in the bishopric by the Earl of Derby, 344 ; Thomas Stanley, sword bishop, 346 ; bishop Phillips, a celebrated preacher, 350 ; Isaac Barrow, the great benefactor of the Island, 352 ; episcopacy of bishop Wilson, 355—64, bishop Murray, 367 ; bishop Ward, another benefactor of the Island, 368—76.
- Bishopric, charter of, 384 ; by act of parliament to be united to the bishopric of Carlisle, 371 ; act rescinded, 373 ; founded, 331.
- Black cattle, singular mode of feeding, 18.
- Black lady of Castle Rushen, 304.
- Botanical productions of the Island, 27.
- Borom, Brian, opposed by the Manks-Danes, 68.
- Boyne, a hostile fleet from Man enters the river of, 48.
- Brennus, Thane of Man, 45.
- Brenus, who first taught the Manks the art of fishing, slain at Lorn, 142.
- Bridget, Saint, receives the veil from St. Maughold, 330.
- Bruce, Robert, king of Scotland, lands with an army in Man, 146 ; takes the Castle of Rushen and subdues the Island, 147.
- C
- Cadwallan becomes sovereign of Man, 46.
- Cat, rumpy, 20.
- Caittil Fin defeated by Amlaf, 60.
- Castle Rushen, 282 ; ground plan of, 286 ; black lady of, 304.
- Cambrian kings, court forms of the, 56.
- Carrick, a sunken rock, 6.
- Castles taken by the Norwegians, 136.
- Ceremony of crowning the kings of the Isles, 134.
- Chickens, sunken rocks so called, 6.
- Charter between Alexander III and Magnus IV, 155 ; of the Island to Sir John Stanley, 179.
- Christians persecuted, 319.
- Christian, William, 207 ; his estates sequestered, 208 ; is prosecuted for treason, 210 ; condemned and executed, 210 ; his estates restored to his family, 212 ; his dying speech, 224 ; orders of the king in council, 226.
- Church, grants to the, 104 ; by Godred, 107.
- Combat, trial by, to be put down, 163.
- Commutation of tithes, 374.
- Court, Tynwald, the first on record, 161 ; forms of court, 56.
- Crimes committed by the Scots and Irish, 164.
- Crovan, Goddard, arrives in Man, 76 ; defeats Fingall, 77 ; apportions the Island, 78 ; subdues Dublin and brings the Scots under subjection, 79 ; his death, 81 ; kings of his line, 102.
- Crown laid at the feet of Reginald, 109.
- Curragh of Ballaugh, fossil elk found there, 7 ; bog timber, 10.
- D
- Dead, dormitories of the, 262.
- Deemsters, decision of the, respecting the Keys, 163.
- Deer, the Calf of Man formerly stocked with, 22.
- Defence of the Island, 305.
- Derby, Thomas Earl of, conquers Kirkcudbright, 168 ; James, Earl of, takes part in the civil war of England, 193 ; siege of Latham House, 198 ; retires to the Isle of Man, 199 ; his letter to Ireton, 200 ; joins king Charles, 201 ;

taken prisoner, 203; tried and condemned to death, 204; his trial and deportment at the place of execution, 220; Charlotte, Countess of, taken prisoner and confined with her family in Castle Rushen, 206; dies at Latham, 209; Charles, Earl of, recovers the Isle of Man, 209; prosecutes William Christian for treason, 211; William, Earl of, grants free trade to the Islanders, 214; James, Earl of, grants the act of settlement, 216; dies without issue, 219.

De Courcy, John, assisted by Reginald, king of Man, 110; defeated by Walter de Lacy, 110.

Douglas, William, Earl of, governor of Man, 143.

Douglas, fort of, 277.

Donald, governor of the Isles, expelled and cast into prison, 89.

Druids, Finnan, founder of the, in the Isle of Man, 41; their office, dress, learning, and power, 309; places of worship and ceremonies, 313; anniversary of Baal, 314; superstitious observances, 317.

Duckenfield, Colonel, takes possession of the Isle of Man, 205.

E

Eagle, the, his eyrie in Snafeld, 23.

Elk, a large fossil, found in the Curragh, 7.

Edward I. takes the Isle of Man, and appoints William Huntercombe warden of it, 142.

Entomology, 29.

Ergadia, John, account of, 149.

F

Fairfax, Lord, the Isle of Man granted by parliament to, 207; he applies the revenue to the support of the clergy, 208; the Island restored to Charles, Earl of Derby, 208.

Falko de Cantelupe plunders Man, 111.

Fire-arms, hereditary, 305.

Fiery ordeal, 102.

Fish, various kinds of, 29.

Flatnefr, Kettil, appointed lieutenant of the Isles, 60.

Fortlets and Blockhouses, 275—77.

Funeral of Edward, Earl of Derby, 181.

G

Galloway, a party of Manksmen defeated in, 95; a strong armament defeated in Man, 117; Allan, Lord of Galloway, commands a large fleet, 121; Olave the Black defeated, 122; green moats of Galloway, 268, 299.

Gallowglasses, 134.

Grant of the Island made by Edward II, 145.

Garrisons kept in repair, 288; soldiers of, 296; quarterlands taxed, 289; carriage truces, 292.

Gilbert, Lord of Galloway, takes refuge in Man, 107.

Godred Kleining called to the throne, 96; elected king of Dublin, 97; opposed by Somerled, 98; divides the kingdom, 99; his death, 108.

Godred called the dragon of the Isles, 115.

Godred Don assassinated in Lewis, 121.

Gorree lands in Man, 63; founds the House of Keys, 64; establishes 'Watch and Ward,' 65.

Governors, catalogue of, 306.

Guthred succeeds Gorree in the government of the Island, 65.

Grafeld, Harold, king of Norway, sacrifices his sons to the devil, 65.

H

Hacon attends king Edgar on the Dee, 66.

Haco, at the head of a Norwegian and Manks army, defeated, 130.

Havens of the Island, 5.

Hares, remarkably large, 22.

Harold Harfagr succeeds to the government of Norway, 60; plunders the Isle of Man, 61.

Harold, king of Man, dies in Ireland, 70.

Harold succeeds his father Olave the Black, 123; makes a tour of the Isles, 124; does homage to the king of Norway and to the king of England, 124; lost at sea, 125.

Hildesley, Dr. Mark, translation of the scriptures by, 365, 386.

Horses, breed of Manks, very small, 17; law respecting them, 17.

Howel, son of Roderic Moeiwynoc, takes refuge in Man, 47.

House-leek, a mystical plant, 329.

I

- Iago succeeds his father Beli, 45.
 Ingemund slain in Lewis, 90.
 Inhabitants of the Isle of Man, language of the, 32.
 Island, geographical structure of the, 6 ; dimensions, 33 ; various names, 37 ; soil, 13 ; quadrupeds and birds, 16, 26 ; plants, 27 ; entomology, 29 ; fishes, 29 ; population, 31, 36 ; parishes and other divisions, 31.
 Ivar usurps the throne of Man, and is slain in battle, 141.

K

- Keys, House of, founded, 64 ; re-established, 164.
 Kings, Welsh line of Manks, 58 ; race of Ketill and Gorree, 74 ; Goddard Crovan and other kings of his line, 103 ; Norwegian line of kings, 105, 135 ; kings of the House of Stanley, 158, 167 ; grant by English kings, 151.
 Konga, Fylkis, or petty princes, 60.
 Konungr, Aurn, opinion respecting, 59.

L

- Lagman, son of Goddard Crovan, 88.
 Legend of the moddey doo, 300 ; of the spell-bound giants, 303 ; of the black lady, 304.
 Lodbrog, Regnar, the Vikingr, 59.

M

- Mac Culloch, Cutlar, the sea rover, 168.
 Maelgwyn conquers the Island, 44.
 Maur, Rodri, succeeds to the sovereignty of Man, 48.
 Magnus succeeds to the throne, 126 ; is knighted by the king of England, 127.
 Magnus, king of Man, joins the great armament of Haco against the Scots, 129 ; dies in Man, 133.
 Magnus Lagebetter succeeds his father, 139 ; cedes the Western Isles to the king of Scotland, 140.
 Magpies, the introduction of, into the Isle of Man, 24.
 Manks ruled by Brule, a Scot, 43.
 Mannanan-Beg-Mac-y-Leirr supposed to be the first legislator of the Island, 39 ; conjectures concerning him, 40, 50 ; his warlike character, 42 ; historical ballad of, 50.

- Manus, Goddard, Mc., removed, 141.
 Mandeville, Sir Richard, plunders the abbey of Rushen, 148.
 Manks church, 356 ; grants to the, 104 ; ancient canons of the, 380.
 Manks clergy, account of, 350, 390.
 Manks people, loyalty of the, 260.
 Martholine, governor of Man, writes against witchcraft, 149.
 Maughold, St., the leader of an Irish banditti, becomes bishop of Man, 323 ; lands in the Island at a place that bears his name, 4, 51.
 Mervyn Vrych succeeds to the sovereignty of Man, 47 ; is slain, 48, 56.
 Moarmor, 104.
 Mines, lead, 8 ; copper, 9.
 Montacute, Sir William, mortgages the revenue of the Island, 145.
 Mintage, the first, struck by Mantholine, 149.
 Murray, Randolph, Earl of, created Lord of Man, 149.

O

- Olave put to death by Harold, king of Norway, 65.
 Olave, a predatory sea rover, lands in Man, and institutes warlike exercises, 67.
 Olave Kleining called to the throne, 90 ; crowned at Drontheim, 92 ; slain by Reginald his nephew, 93.
 Olave, called the Black, excluded from his inheritance, 109 ; treachery of Reginald, 112 ; recalled to the throne, 116 ; visits Norway and assists Haco, 120 ; does homage to the king of England, 121 ; defeated in Galloway, 122 ; died in Peel Castle, 123.
 Okerfair, Maurice, his government and death, 142.
 Orkney, Sigurd, Earl of, conquers the Isles, 68.
 Orlygus, singular adventure of, 326.

P

- Patrick, St., his arrival in the Island, 320 ; banishes Mannanan-Beg-Mac-y-Leirr, 51 ; succeeded by St. Germain, 321.
 Peel, green mound of, 270 ; castle of, 278 ; the moddey doo, 300.

Perennial springs descend from the mountains, 3.

Pope, surrender of the Island to the, 135.

Princes educated in the Island, 325.

Proclamation, royal, 257.

Purr, a species of the wild boar, 16.

R

Reginald, a reputed magician, 65.

Reginald assists John de Courcy with a strong army, and is defeated in Ireland.

110; surrenders the Island of Lewis

to his brother Olave, 113; deposed by his subjects, 116; invades Man with

a hostile army and is slain, 117.

Reginald, the brother of Harold, assumes the government of Man, and the same year is slain by a knight named Ivar, 126

Revestment, act of, 244; revenue at, 259; royal proclamation, 257.

Rhun, son of Maelgwyn, succeeds to the sovereignty of Man, 44.

Romans in the Isle of Man, 43, 55.

Round towers, 303.

Royal bounty, 388.

Rushen Castle, building of, began, 65.

Rumpy cat, 21.

S

Salisbury crowned king of Man, 151; sells the Island to Sir William de

Scroop, 153.

Scriptures translated into the Manks language, 386.

Scots, the, sell the Manks a truce, 150.

Sepulchral monuments, 266.

Settlement, act of, 229

Sheep, a peculiar breed of, 18.

Sheddings similar to the *Godtrics* of the Icelanders, 64.

Shoals of Strumakilli, &c., 6.

Sitric, king of Dublin, takes refuge in Man, 70.

Snafield, the highest mountain in the Island, 2.

Soldiers, 296; none permitted to traffic without leave, 293.

Somerled, thane of Argyll, obtains part of the kingdom of the Isles, 98; returns to Man with a hostile fleet, 99; his son plunders the church of St. Maughold, 110; slain in battle, 101.

Stanley, Sir John, obtains a grant of the Isle of Man, 54, 154, 179; succeeded by his son, 161; his death, 164; succeeded by Thomas, who is created Baron Stanley, (see Derby), 165.

Stanley, succession of the House of, 235. Suibne reigns over the Isles, 70.

T

Thorstein, the Red King, assumes the title of king of the half of Scotland, 62.

Timber, 10.

Tingwald Courts, Daniah, 299.

Towns, chief, of the Island, 32.

Treasury, the Lords of the, empowered by parliament to purchase the royalties of the Isle of Man, 243; purchase concluded, 244.

Treens, an ecclesiastical division, 13.

Truce between the Scots and Manks, 14.

Tullibardine, genealogical sketch of the family, 236.

Tynwald Hill, 271; origin of the name, 273; formalities, 299.

U

Upsac, Haco, a protégé of the king of Norway, 119.

V

Vikigr, northern, Gorree, &c., 59.

W

Ward, bishop, builds eight new churches in the Island with funds raised by his exertions for that purpose, 369; his strenuous exertions in support of the bishopric, 371; his death and character, 373.

Wicker boats, 329.

Wilson, Dr. Thomas, the last bishop of Sodor and Man enthroned in the cathedral of Peel, 355; he frames an ecclesiastical code, 356; commits the clerk of the rolls to the ecclesiastical prison, 356; is himself committed to the dungeons of the castle by the governor, 359; his great exertions to alleviate the sufferings of his people, 361; list of his publications, 363; death and character, 364.

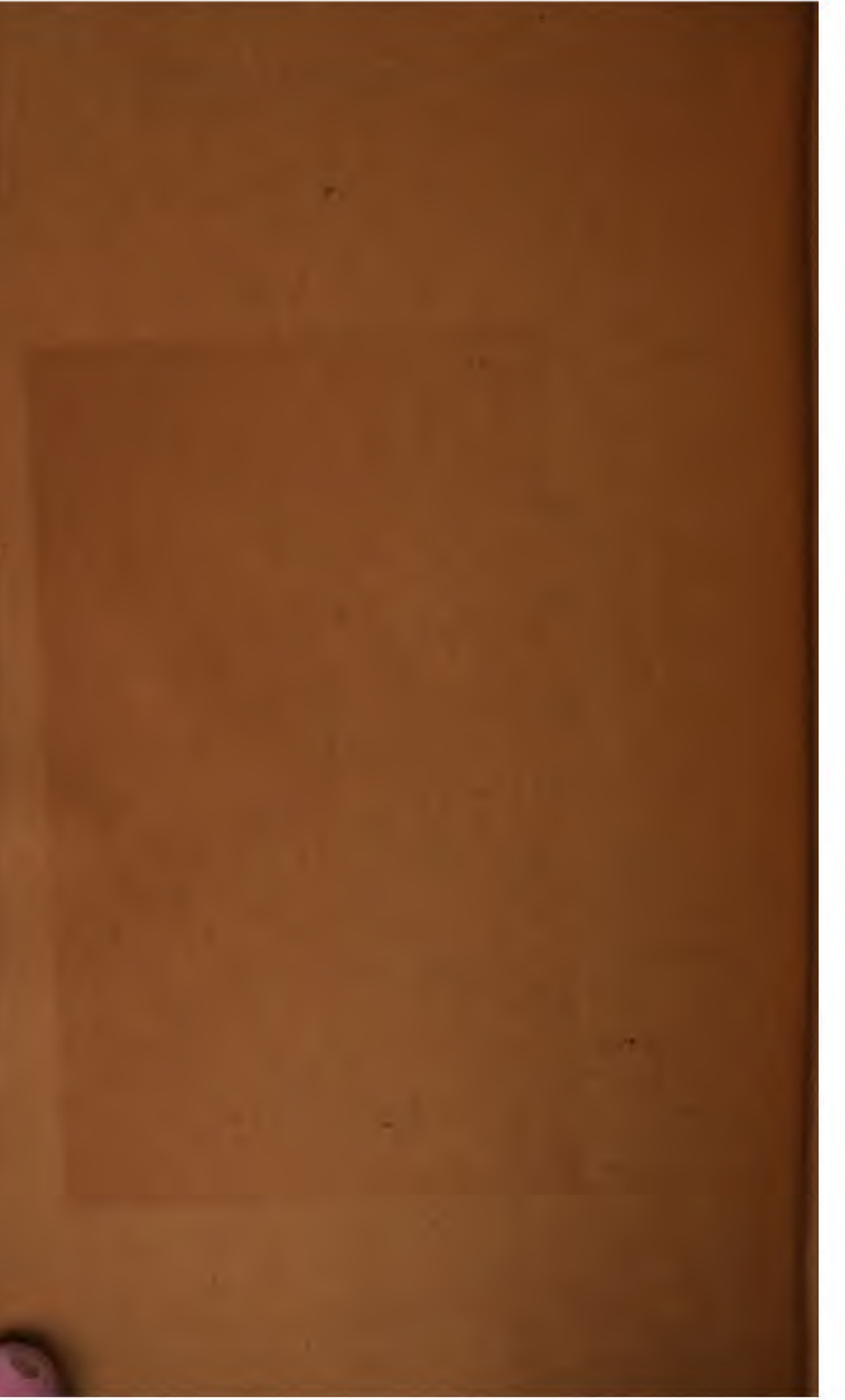
Wimund, his piratical excursions, 333.

Witches at Beltane, 328.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

- Page 2, sixth line from top, for *salmon's* read *SALINE*.
— 3, first line, for *ingenial* read *UNGENIAL*.
— 6, at the end of the thirteenth line add *THE*.
— 16, seventh line, for *loosing* read *LOSING*.
— 18, 19, 22, 26, and 33, for the word *Appendix*, where it occurs in the notes, read *APUD*.
— 21, seventh line, for *crossed* read *CROSS*.
— 42, third line from bottom, for *Respan* read *RISPAN*.
— 73, ninth line, between the words *cross used* insert *BEING*.
— 87, sixth line from bottom, for *is* read *HIS*.
— 89, fourteenth line from top, for *reigns* read *REINS*.
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